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Editor's Page

THE ETERNAL CONFLICT

THIS is a special issue in several different ways. It is special in that it contains sixteen additional pages, a dividend, as it were, to the members of the National Council for the Social Studies. It is special in that it focuses upon a single subject, although, as the reader will discover, the range of articles includes the elementary school, the college, and all levels of education in between, as well as more general substantive material useful to all social studies teachers.

Most important of all, however, is the subject to which we have devoted this issue of *Social Education*. The subject is that of free men and how they go about the business of governing themselves. Through all the breadth and depth of human history, we will hunt in vain for a subject of larger significance.

THE MEANING OF FREE ELECTIONS

THE institutions and mechanics of the democratic world are a tribute to man's everlasting ability to build and create. The good citizen will take pride in his understanding of these institutions and in his skill in operating them. But he will be only part of a citizen, and a very small part at that, if he does not also understand and cherish the values upon which these institutions rest, values that well up from the deepest depths of human experience and, refined and crystallized through the ages, reach us today as the finest flowering of man's aspirations.

Often, in our search for the essence of men's most precious dreams and aspirations, we turn to the poet and the artist. And, in our efforts to teach, we make use of contrasts to reveal the darkness and the light, that each may be seen more vividly and understood for what they are. Take, by way of illustration, Millet's painting of "The Man With the Hoe," and Edwin Markham's poem with the same title, written as Markham commented, after he had seen the famous painting. Here is the darkness, the pictorial and verbal symbolization of man who is less than

... dead to rapture and despair,
A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox. . . .

As Markham pictures him,

Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world. . . .

And then Markham's never-to-be-forgotten quotation:

O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands,
Is this the handiwork you give to God,
This monstrous thing distorted and soul-quenched?

Here, truly, is darkness, not the darkness of the night that brings quiet and rest and peace, but the abysmal darkness that obliterates man's soul and shrouds man himself in oblivion. It is the darkness that in our times has fallen upon the face of a large portion of the earth, and casts ominous shadows across the free world. In this darkness, and in the chill shadows that extend beyond it, men burn books, stifle the free expression of opinion, pronounce their fellows guilty because of their associations, and in numerous other ways, overtly and covertly, seek to enslave free men and to reduce free countries to rigid patterns of conformity.

This is the darkness that Millet and Markham have caught with brush and pen, and hold before men everywhere and through all time as a warning and a challenge.

But there is also light, and the symbol of light takes many forms familiar to all of us, teachers and pupils alike. There is, for example, the Jefferson Memorial in the nation's capital, and the words of Jefferson himself, carved deep in the stone that encircles the erect figure like a protective mantle. "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

And there is the Statue of Liberty, well known to every school child, with Emma Lazarus's verse engraved upon its base:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddle masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, the tempest-tost, to me;
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

"Golden door" it has been through more than four and a half centuries, and "golden door" it will continue to be if we, in our classes, do the job we should do in helping our pupils to understand the larger meaning of the election process. The larger meaning lies in the values upon which the process has been built, not upon the mechanics by which it operates, important though they may be. When free men go to the polls to vote, they are testifying to man's victory over the forces of evil that through the ages have sought to hold mankind in the grip of degradation and slavery. The men and women who file into the polling place may have hands worn by toil, but the work they do is of their own choosing, and they stand in individual dignity before their fellowmen.

Sometime during the course of the election campaign social studies classes should put aside, at least momentarily, the immediate questions of candidates, political issues, and election procedures. To be sure, these topics are important. From kindergarten through the final commencement program, the youth of America should be

given every opportunity to learn about and to practice the art of democratic living. But when all is said and done, the election process remains neither more nor less than what it is, a means to an end, not the end itself. We shall be derelict in our duty if we fail to make this clear to our students. Only when we have a clear vision of our goal can we move forward to larger freedom, forward into a world where justice and freedom reign triumphant.

The eternal conflict is that of freedom versus tyranny. It is a moral conflict, and one, therefore, that each generation must resolve in its own way, and each individual must resolve for himself. Every time an individual votes, every time he deliberately exercises one of his responsibilities as a free citizen in a free state, he strengthens himself and the society of which he is a part. Viewed from this larger perspective, election day is a time of dedication, a time when free men pledge themselves anew to carry on the struggle against the dark force of tyranny wherever and however it may exist, and to strive unceasingly to bring freedom and justice to all men everywhere.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

WE REGRET to say that for the first time in many years the masthead of *Social Education* does not carry the name of Ralph Adams Brown, who resigned in June from the editorship of the department of Pamphlets and Government Publications. Month after month, year after year, without any reward beyond the realization that he was performing a service for his colleagues, Dr. Brown combed through the files of pamphlet material, selecting and annotating for publication those items he thought would be most useful for classroom teachers. For several years he served as assistant editor, and for a short time, when the Council most needed his help and despite the pressure of other work, he assumed the responsibility of the editorship of the journal. In brief, Dr. Brown has always been

ready to do the job that needed to be done, and he has always done the job with skill and dispatch. We cannot thank him enough for his advice and help, and we feel sure that many members of the National Council for the Social Studies will wish to drop him a note of appreciation.

The new editor of Pamphlets and Government Publications is Dr. Manson Van B. Jennings, assistant professor of history at Teachers College, Columbia University. We are delighted to have him as a colleague, and look forward with pleasure to our work together. Speaking in behalf of Dr. Jennings, we urge readers to call his attention to pamphlet material that they feel will be particularly useful to classroom teachers. Please send your suggestions directly to the new editor.

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Issues of the 1952 Campaign

Wilfred E. Binkley

NO MATTER how diligently one examines the planks of the major party platforms he may not find there the real issues of the presidential campaign. Platforms are most significant when an incumbent President is a candidate for re-election and is consequently quite influential in shaping his party platform and thereby defining the campaign issues. Under such circumstances the platform may even be prepared in the White House and sent to be accepted intact by the convention platform committee, as is said to have been sometimes the case when Franklin Roosevelt was a candidate for reelection.

Most party platforms, however, are products of the resolutions committee at the convention, although much of the preliminary draft may have been prepared by several sub-committees working at it before the delegates have convened. The resolutions committee proper may toil feverishly the clock around holding hearings before which representatives of business, labor, agriculture, minority and other groups appear and urge inclusion of planks pledging the party to support policies in their respective interests. The purpose of the resolutions committee is to unite the party as much as possible and at the same time attract independents and doubtful members of the opposite party. This requires an aggregation of statements or planks that will appeal to practically a cross section of the American electorate. If the platforms of opposing parties often seem quite similar, it is because both are appealing to the same national constituency, the American electorate.

No wonder then, that the handiwork of the

The following analysis of basic issues in the current election was prepared by a professor of political science in Ohio Northern University at Ada, Ohio. Because of printing deadlines, this article had to be written in advance of the conventions. "That is no easy job," Professor Binkley commented when we placed our request before him. Despite the difficulties, he has prepared a statement that should be extremely helpful to teachers and students alike as they follow political developments during the forthcoming weeks.

resolutions committee is often what the late Wendell Willkie denominated "fusions of ambiguity." The informed voter is to be pardoned if he smiles indulgently at the solemn declaration of a candidate that he stands squarely on the party platform. Intuitively sensing its lack of validity the electorate habitually ignores the party platforms, and it is difficult to find even a partisan who has taken pains to read his party platform. A presidential candidate may even disavow a specific plank in his party platform. That is exactly what the Democratic presidential candidate, General George B. McClellan, did in 1864 when he renounced the notorious "Peace Plank" of his party's platform. So did Woodrow Wilson in 1912 when he made it clear that he would not be bound by the plank in his party's platform pledging the presidential candidate to a single term. Likewise Democratic presidential candidate, Alfred E. Smith, renounced the dry plank of his party platform in 1928. The shrewdest commentary on the party platform ever made came from the pen of a theologian, the late Shailer Mathews. "A political platform is not a program," he declared. "It is rather something upon which the candidate may stand while deciding which way the people at large choose to go."¹

But if the public ignores the platforms, it compensates for this neglect by concentrating on what the presidential candidate says. By the time the delegates have convened, every prominent aspirant for the nomination has published articles, delivered addresses, held news interviews, and been subjected to a gruelling barrage of loaded questions, as a consequence of which his positions on pending issues of public policy have been pretty thoroughly revealed. After the convention, the standard bearers of the parties continue this process of defining the issues of the campaign.

CURRENT ISSUES

World Peace. Preeminent among the issues of the 1952 campaign is the problem of world peace—how to break the Korean deadlock and prevent a world-wide cold war from suddenly becoming

¹ *The Validity of American Ideals*, New York: The Abingdon Press, 1922. p. 32.

red-hot. Recriminations against the present administration will be made by the "outs," by those not responsible for the decisions that got us involved in war in Korea. Calling it "Truman's War," however, may not be so effective without Truman or a hand-picked Truman candidate for President. Moreover, it is doubtful whether the American electorate will be greatly impressed by the criticisms of any candidate offering no convincing solution of what is at present an unsolvable problem. Frederick L. Schuman points out that our policy makers and our public have no experience since 1812 with "a war which cannot be won," but airing such an idea is unthinkable during a campaign. Senator Taft proposed preparing the South Koreans to defend themselves and then withdrawing our forces. What General MacArthur would say to such an abandonment of Asia is not recorded. Whether Russia is to be restrained mainly in Asia, in Europe, or in both will doubtless be aired by campaign orators throughout the campaign. The Democratic party will stress the containment policy and claim that the spread of communism has been checkmated in both Asia and Europe, and will point at the Republican curtailment of the defense appropriations urged by President Truman.

Republicans are thoroughly airing what they denounce as the blundering foreign policy or lack of policy that they insist led to the Korean impasse. Those who conclude that this criticism will inevitably defeat the Democratic candidate should be reminded that President Lincoln far more than President Truman endured years of vituperative denunciation for his "mismanagement" of the war. Not only did this condemnation come from political opponents, but scarcely a prominent leader of his own party stood by him in 1864, and yet the rank and file of the voters vindicated Lincoln by reelection with a large majority. Severe criticism of an administration's conduct of a war is a campaign issue of doubtful value, judged by historical experience. So far as influencing voters in 1952 is concerned, the issue of peace will resolve itself into the pertinent question of which party and which candidate as President is more likely to keep the war confined; which party is more dependable as an assurance against the dread possibility of an atomic Armageddon. The decision at the polls could turn on precisely that issue.

"*Creeping Socialism*" is an issue raised by Republican campaign orators. "Statism" was the

corresponding battle cry several years ago, but the electorate refused to be impressed and the epithet is heard less today. Both terms are designed to discredit and condemn the New Deal and the Fair Deal policies. "Socialism" in this connection is given a meaning not to be found in any dictionary. One imaginative candidate defined socialism as meaning governmental expansion or governmental interference and consequently as the antithesis of "liberty." Needless to say, no reputable social scientist would accept taking such liberty with the accepted usage of words, since widespread use of this practice would lead to linguistic anarchy and the confusion of a new Babel.

As to so-called "creeping socialism," let it never be forgotten that every last governmental control imposed, every last service provided, was established because an insistent interest or combination of interests persuaded or even pressured Congress to enact the law providing for it. Nor would a single interest now willingly surrender the advantage it gained. What if we could line up, after the manner of our old fashioned spelling class, the representatives of each of the multitudinous interests of the nation and then permit each one to cancel out one governmental control or service which his interest considered obnoxious? When we had finished the game there would be only a skeleton of governmental functions left to serve the interests of 150 million howling, indignant Americans. Reducing this kind of so-called "socialism" would mean precisely that. "Creeping Socialism" will fall flat as a campaign issue once its implications are understood. The public will probably be no more impressed with it than they were by the battle cry of "Statism."

"*Isolationism*" is a philosophy few would openly avow, but there are aging Republicans who vividly recall that this was the magic issue with which the Democratic party was temporarily paralyzed in the 1920's. Statistical analyses of voting counties now reveal that the strong isolationists all have a pro-German or anti-British bias, and Republicans have learned how to exploit this prejudice. The decline of the Roosevelt strength in the election of 1940 was largely due to a mid-west outburst of German-American resentment against our becoming involved in war against Germany. It is now clear that the German vote has never been normally Republican, but has twice swung to that party as a consequence of two world wars. By 1948 the German-American indignation against Democrats was cooling off

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since Roosevelt, who led us into war against Germany, was no longer President. Samuel Lubell in his searching analysis of election returns fortified by numerous personal interviews with voters, reveals that Truman benefited by the return of German-Americans to their old place in the Democratic party.² If this is true, isolationism as an electoral factor may have just about spent its force for the time being. The appeal to ethnic groups to take revenge on the Democratic party may be made in vain this year.

Civil Rights is an issue that simply cannot be ignored, since the minority groups interested in them have learned the art of throwing as needed their electoral weights—the balances that can decide presidential elections. These minority groups tend to be concentrated in the crowded wards of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, and Los Angeles. No matter how the election goes in the rest of the state in which each of these cities is located, the big city vote of that state can reverse it and so decide how the big block of electoral votes of that state is to be counted. Here is a total of 185 electoral votes that has come to constitute the grand prize of presidential elections. Presidential candidates are practically compelled to try to outbid each other to win them. As long as the electoral college functions as it does, civil rights will be an issue in presidential campaigns—at any rate until the issue is settled.

Farm Support is not as much an issue as four years ago when Truman, campaigning in the middle west, declared that if farmers failed to vote Democratic, they would be the most ungrateful people in the world. Farmers are not in economic distress this year, and seem to prefer to be let alone. Nevertheless, there lingers with them the memory of the Great Depression, and this now appears to be the dominant psychological force among farmers. The damage done by inflation tends to repel the farmer from the Democratic party under which it developed, but the fact that the Republican party symbolizes economy and opposition to governmental controls makes him fearful of what might happen to him if the inevitable next depression comes in a Republican administration. Farm support is a perennial issue, and the candidate who can convince the farmer he will not let him down has

a good chance of getting most of the farm vote.

Taxation. Candidates are acutely aware of the possibility of taxation as an issue in their bid for votes. Samuel Lubell in his post mortem analysis of the 1950 congressional election found that lower income groups were shifting from the Democratic side because of increased tax deductions and inflation and the consequent pinching of their standards of living. So presidential candidates promise tax reductions of 15 percent, or billions of dollars of reduction of the budget. The effect of this on the voter is uncertain. Some of them doubtless know, and if they don't, President Truman will emphatically remind them, that Presidents neither lay taxes nor appropriate money and that, in any case, Congress pays little attention to the President's recommendations in such matters. Taxes and budgets in the coming four years will depend upon circumstances, the pressures of events and of interest groups. Only a marked decline in the cold war would permit any substantial reduction. The candidate who promises categorically a 15 percent reduction thereby serves notice that he will ignore the Employment Act of 1946 designed to cushion unemployment. This could scare the super day-lights out of the innumerable voters who live in terror of a coming depression.

Fear of Depression. In fact the fear of a depression is one of the uncalculable issues of the campaign of 1952. Farmers and laborers are alike fearful of the dread possibility when rearmament declines. Nor is this just confined to those who voted for Roosevelt as their economic saviour in the 1930's. The tradition of the Great Depression persists in the new maturing generation. The writer recently asked a college student "Why are you a Democrat?" Instantly came the pertinent reply, "I ate too many beans during the depression." There are millions like him. That the incubus of "Hoover" still hangs like an albatross around the neck of the Republican party simply cannot be doubted. "The harshest fact about the 1948 voting," declares Lubell after a nation-wide searching survey of the balloting, "was how many conservative persons feared a Republican victory." There were business men among them. The burden of proof rests upon the Republican candidate to convince the American people that he will act with promptness and vigor if economic activity takes a sharp downward turn. This is a significant issue in 1952.

² Samuel Lubell. *The Future of American Politics*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. p. 134.

Congressional Elections in a Presidential Year

Clark C. Gill

THE fanfare and enthusiasm generated by a presidential campaign tends to overshadow in popular appeal all other election contests. Political parties have already whipped up nation-wide interest to the point where the names of the Presidential candidates are the inevitable subject of conversation wherever men and women gather formally or informally to discuss the affairs of state. Ask these same people about the candidates for local offices, or even Congress, and the response is likely to be far less vocal, if, indeed, there is a response.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

LOUIS H. BEAN,¹ who has devoted intensive study to the analysis of elections, contends that 30 to 40 percent of the voters do not even know their Congressman or what his stand has been on any issue. It is also a well-known fact that the Presidential election brings out a much larger vote for Congressmen than the off-election year, which would seem to indicate that for many voters the Congressional campaigns are of insufficient importance by themselves to justify their participation. The election of "marginal" Congressmen, and in fact, control of the Congress, may well depend on the "pull" of a winning Presidential candidate.

The greater interest which voters manifest in the Presidential campaigns can be more easily explained than justified. The campaign for President is conducted on a nation-wide basis. Radio, television, and the press carry the drama of the national conventions and the campaigns across the entire nation. A Senator's campaign has appeal only to the voters of his state, and that of

a Congressman only to his Congressional district. But this fact should in no way make their campaign of any less significance to the people who happen to live in a given state or Congressional district.

To minimize the importance of Congressional elections is to show a curious disregard for the system of checks and balances established by the Constitution. To expect the President to carry out his program without the active cooperation of a sympathetic Congress is to ignore the fact that the President and Congress must act as a legislative team to insure the success of a positive program of action. Although the President is expected to exercise legislative leadership and also control through his veto power, the determination of broad national policies, the authorization of funds and personnel to implement those policies, and the continuing review of the effectiveness of those policies, are still the prerogatives of Congress and constitute its principal functions.²

"Nothing is more disastrous to a democracy," says Senator Paul Douglas, "than a gulf between national policy and the people who must live—perhaps even die—according to that policy."³ The elections of Senators and Congressmen responsible and responsive to the people is the best assurance that the voice of the people will be heard in the formulation of national policies. The people should not expect, however, that their representatives will be automatically responsible and responsive to their will. That can only come about because the people demand it and take an intensive interest in their representatives. Active participation in elections is only one means of demonstrating such an interest.

On the success of Congress in solving the nation's problems depends the survival of representative government. George B. Galloway, an

The author of this analysis of the importance of Congressional elections was formerly chief of the Curriculum Division of the U. S. Armed Forces Institute at Madison, Wisconsin. During the past year he has been engaged in research and writing in the nation's capital, and has had an unusual opportunity to observe Congress in action.

¹ *How to Predict Elections*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948.

² Philip S. Broughton, *For a Stronger Congress*. Public Affairs Pamphlet 116. 1946, p. 4.

³ "Congress and Mainstreet" *New York Times Magazine*. September 16, 1951, p. 50.

eminent authority on Congress, states, "The Congress of the United States is the central citadel of American democracy."⁴ The same idea is expressed very forcefully by Jerry Voorhis, for ten years a Congressman from California. "For those of us who believe in democratic government, under a constitution which protects the individual citizen's rights and liberties, it becomes more and more evident that the one essential bulwark of the people's rights and liberties in such a nation is the vigor and effectiveness of the national legislature."

"If that national legislature occupies its proper place as a co-equal branch of government, and especially if it puts forth and enacts into law a program calculated to meet the nation's present and future problems, the future of freedom will be safe. What will happen under opposite circumstances we all know."⁵

One can only conclude that the comparative lack of interest shown in Congressional elections and the ignorance of the voter as to the identity and views of his Congressman are not at all compatible with the cogent statements quoted above on the indispensable role of Congress. Important as the Presidential elections are, it would be a serious mistake on the part of the voters to consider the Congressional elections only a side-show attraction to the main event.

WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE SENATORIAL AND CONGRESSIONAL RACES?

THE preceding discussion on the significance of the Congressional elections has set the stage for a consideration of the current Congressional races.

The objective of each party is to elect its candidates for President and Vice-President and to secure control of Congress by electing a majority of the members to both houses. The majority party has the power to organize the Congress and elect its own members to all the key positions including the Speaker of the House, and the Chairmanships of all the committees. On each of the committees, which are the heart of the legislative process, the majority party will have majority representation. With the power to organize Congress, the majority party must assume the main burden of responsibility for the entire legislative program.

Should the opposition party be in control of

Congress, the President would stand little chance of implementing effectively his legislative program, no matter how sound, progressive, or utopian. The result may well be confusion, bickering, buck-passing, and legislative stagnation. With members of his own party who are sympathetic to his policies in control of Congress, the President is in excellent position to exercise effective legislative leadership.

The political parties are well aware that the only hope of successfully carrying out their campaign pledges is to control both the legislative and executive branches. Voters who are interested in efficient government also recognize that it can only be achieved with dynamic cooperation between the President and Congress.

THE SENATE RACES⁶

AT PRESENT the Democrats are in control of the Senate, holding 50 seats to 46 for the Republicans. In the coming election 34 seats are at stake in 33 states. Of these 34 seats the Republicans now hold 20 and the Democrats 14. One half of the 14 Democratic seats are in what might be considered "safe" Democratic territory. Only 6 of the 20 Republican seats are in what might be termed normally "G.O.P." territory.

In order to gain control of the Senate from the Democrats, the Republicans would have to retain all the seats they now have and win three more. The tightest races are expected to develop in states which have frequently switched from one party to another or where the margin of victory in previous elections was small. In nine states which are holding a Senatorial election this year, the state is currently represented by one Democrat and one Republican, indicating no hard and fast party alignment.

The stiffest opposition for Republican-held seats is expected to develop in Washington, Montana, Missouri, and Nevada. Each of these states has elected a Democrat to the Senate in 1948 or 1950. The Democrats are expected to face their toughest battles in Connecticut, Michigan, and Maryland.

In view of the current advantage of the Demo-

⁶ For a detailed analysis of the Senate race see "Can The GOP Win the Senate?" *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*. Vol. 10, No. 17:394-406. May 2, 1952. Also very useful background information for the Senatorial Campaign is provided in a pamphlet entitled, *Factual Campaign Information*, compiled under the direction of Leslie L. Biffle by the Senate Library, printed for the use of the Office of the Secretary of the Senate, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington: 1952. 35 p.

⁴ *Congress at the Crossroads*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1945. p. 5.

⁵ *Confessions of a Congressman*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1947. p. 348.

crats in the Senate, the number of "safe" Democratic seats up for reelection, and the number of close races in which Republican incumbents find themselves, it is evident that the Republicans face an up-hill struggle to gain control of the Senate. Even a victory for the Republican candidate for President may have the Democrats in control of the Senate unless the Republican trend approaches the same proportions as it did in 1946. The year 1946 was decidedly a "Republican" year. Many of the incumbents rode to victory on the general public dissatisfaction over meat shortages, wartime controls, demobilization and foreign policy. Whether equally appealing issues will be found to insure their re-election this year remains to be seen.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

IN THE present House the seats are divided as follows: Democrats, 231; Republicans, 200; Independents, 1; Vacancies, 3. A total of 218 is required for a majority. All 435 seats are at stake in the coming election. If the Republicans are to win control of the House they must retain the seats they now have and pick up 18 more. Party control of the House of Representatives may well rest on the outcome of the election of the President, for it is estimated by one political observer that as many as 25 to 30 Representatives may "ride in on the President's coattail."⁷

As a result of a recent survey of the campaign for the House the *Congressional Quarterly* states that 180 districts in 36 states "hold the key to the control of the House of Representatives in the 83rd Congress" and summarized the situation as follows:

"... there are 255 districts in which it is unlikely there will be any party change. There are 80 districts which probably will stay in the same party, but may switch to the other, particularly in a Presidential election year. And, finally, there are 100 districts which were won by such low percentages that it is very likely that many of them may switch to the opposite party in the 1952 election."⁸

The closest contests are expected in those states where the margin of victory was small in 1950. According to the *Congressional Quarterly*, nine states elected their representatives in 1950 with margins under 60 percent.⁹ These states were Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming.

The hard core of political strength for both parties rests in the districts where the last contests were won by 60 percent or more of the vote. Here the Democrats have the advantage with 161 such districts to 94 for the Republicans.¹⁰

Another factor to be considered in the election campaigns for the House is the results of reapportionment and redistricting on the basis of the 1950 census. Since 1910 the size of the House has been 435 members and is so fixed by law. The law further provides for the reapportionment of representatives to the states after each census. As a result of the census of 1950, seven states will gain one or more new representatives and nine states will lose one or more.¹¹ California shows the largest gain with seven representatives added to its previous quota.

If a state gains or loses representatives, the next step is to redraw the Congressional districts. This is a task for the state legislatures, and usually precipitates a bitter political battle. Should a state gain one or more representatives, it may choose to elect the additional representative(s) at large rather than redistrict. Should a state lose representatives, there would be greater pressure for redistricting, since if it were not done, the entire state delegation would be elected at large. In such an event it would be possible for a state machine or the votes of the more populous urban centers to dominate the selection of the entire slate, thereby denying proper representation to the minority party. What effect redistricting will have on the election results cannot be estimated at this time.

THE ROLE OF THE VOTER

IN THIS campaign, as in all others, the candidates will have the nation "standing at the cross-roads" with a clear choice between "prosperity and ruin." It might be more correct to say that Congress itself stands at the crossroads. Today Congress suffers criticism from all sides—from the press, the public, the President, and Congress itself. It is criticized for its obsolete machinery, its antiquated methods, and the incompetence of some of its members. Some of the criticisms have been so severe that they may raise doubts in some minds concerning the validity of representative government itself, since the

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⁷ Louis H. Bean, *op. cit.* p. 33.

⁸ *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, August 10, 1951, p. 1184.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 1184.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 1181.

¹¹ *Congressional Record*, January 9, 1951, p. 115, presents a tabular listing showing all gains and losses.

Being a Citizen: Help from the League of Women Voters

Mary Ann Guyol

ALL of us know women who are so busy reading cook books and clipping recipes from magazines that they don't have time to bake a cake. We may even know button collectors who have never been known to sew a button on their husband's shirts. Then there are citizens who talk about citizenship and learn about citizenship, but do very little about *being* citizens. Being a citizen may be harder than baking a cake or sewing on a button, but the important thing in all three cases is to get started.

MAKING A START

WHEN you study the lists of candidates for an office, read the backgrounds of each, hear each one speak on issues, read the records of those running for re-election, and then go to the polls and vote—

When you listen to a department chief tell about his budget proposals, then learn at first hand about one service included in that budget, visit your councilman on behalf of the appropriation and follow the process by which the appropriation passes or fails to pass—

When you study the pros and cons of an issue, read different points of view on it, discuss it with people who believe as you do and people who don't, and finally come to a conclusion and act on it—

When you join the political party of your choice, go to your precinct meeting, ring doorbells, address envelopes, make telephone calls, and work like a beaver to get your candidate elected—

When you do all—or some—or even one—of these things you are beginning to get the feel of the way of democracy. You are beginning to *be* a citizen.

Fortunately, the responsibility of civic education is shared by many groups, among the most effective of which is The League of Women Voters. In this article, the author, the staff member responsible for Public Relations, describes some of the ways in which The League meets its responsibilities.

HOW THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS WORKS

MAKING beginnings of this sort is difficult for an individual. It isn't so easy even for a group. Many organizations can, and do, help in one way or another, but the League of Women Voters is the one organization whose efforts are devoted exclusively to the goal of getting citizens to *BE* citizens. For thirty-two years the League has been working on the techniques of effective participation in government.

Early League members thought that getting out the vote was the answer. Many people still think it is. Voting is of course an important part of citizenship, but the League soon learned that a large turnout on election day is not a panacea for all our governmental problems. To vote intelligently on local as well as state and national matters requires some background knowledge.

From the beginning the members of the League of Women Voters have used the laboratory method of learning about their communities. They have learned by going to see for themselves.

Know Your Town. Each new League gets the facts about its own community by doing a "Know Your Town Government Survey." When starting out on the survey, League members do not set out to find fault or to redo their government. The main purpose is to dig out facts as they exist. Following the pattern in the pamphlet, "Know Your Town Government,"¹ they become re-acquainted with their town and in turn the town becomes acquainted with them.

When they have completed their findings, Leagues usually select one of the fields they have explored for a greater concentration of study and activity. The field that is selected comes quite naturally in many instances, because the members have been curious about some of the things they have learned. They have checked various sources to see how their own government

¹ Available for 25 cents from the League of Women Voters, 1026 17th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C. The League also has outlines for "Know Your State" and "Know Your County."

measures up to standards or experiences of other governments.

Thus, through a combination of study, first-hand experience and discussion, citizen action is laid out. With this background the citizen has a basis on which to form opinions to take intelligent action, and to cast an informed vote.

Knowing the Candidates. An important part of being an active citizen is to know the candidates running for office. This can be done by reading about them, seeing them in person and judging their fitness against the background of what the duties of the office entail.

In almost every community in which a League of Women Voters operates, the organization publishes non-partisan information about candidates for office. Questionnaires answered by the candidates are circulated. These questionnaires do two things: First they reveal the background of the candidate, his schooling, previous experience and community activities. By perusing a short biography of the man or woman running for office, you, the voter, become better acquainted with the candidate. Second, the answers to the questionnaire give you the opportunity of learning where the candidates stand on issues.

The fact that John Jones declares himself against parking meters and you happen to think they would be a good thing, would not necessarily cause you to vote against him. You would weigh his answers to other questions against what you believe to be the right answer. You would also consider the answers in the light of the experience of the person running for office. It is easy to be "for" a new community recreation center and a new school cafeteria and at the same time call for a reduction in taxes if you have never had to struggle with the problem in the city council.

One way of measuring an incumbent who is seeking re-election is to study his voting record. At intervals when congress is in session the national office of the League of Women Voters publishes "Significant Roll Calls," a publication showing the votes of all congressmen on key issues. It is extremely revealing, for example, to note that sometimes a congressman will vote for a bill authorizing a program but vote "no" on appropriations to put the bill into effect.

Some state and local governmental bodies also have roll call votes. Where this is the case, many Leagues distribute a record of selected tallies trying to choose major issues. Because the League information is factual and non-partisan, voters have come to depend on it as trustworthy. This

public trust is more secure because of the League's policy of never supporting parties or candidates.

Another League activity at election time is holding candidates' meetings. These are public meetings where all citizens can meet the men and women who are asking for their vote. Seeing the two candidates for a certain office on the same platform addressing themselves to the same questions is often very useful in making a choice at election time.

If one candidate speaks out forcefully on a subject and the other counters by extolling the virtues of motherhood or pays extravagant court "to the Ladies," the differences are bound to show through and often are reflected at the polls. Many candidates' meetings are now covered by radio and television, which means that more and more people are being reached—an advantage both to the candidate and to the voter.

Know Your Political Party. Everyone who has encountered on election day two candidates, neither one of whom he cares to see elected, knows that selection of good government officials must begin long before going to the polls. Although the League of Women Voters is a non-partisan organization, it urges its members and other citizens to get into the political party of their choice and to work in it.

In a pamphlet, "You Can Be the Life of the Party" and in a quiz, "What's the U.S. to You?" the League points out how political parties function and what relation the citizen can have to his party.

Once you have found out the answers to such questions as "How Can I Join a Party? Where? When? How, where, and when are my local candidates nominated? Who are my committee man and committee woman? Are they elected by me? Where? When?" you will find that you have acquired quite a bit of political know-how. Just getting the answers (which are different in each state and sometimes in each locality within the state) is an excellent way to become inspired to go further in taking an active part in the democratic process. Non-partisan organizations can be valuable basic training for citizenship, but eventually an active citizen should get into the battle by joining a party.

Early this year the League made an addition to "What's the U. S. to You?" by publishing a quiz called "Who's your man?" "Who is your candidate for President of the United States?" the League asked, "Is there anything you can do to see that your man is chosen? What?"

A Washington columnist wrote "The voting public doesn't realize it but while the American people elect a President, they do not nominate." The League determined to find out just where in the nominating procedure the citizen fits in. Armed with the proper copy of the quiz (one for the states which use the convention method for selecting delegates to the national convention and one for states which use the primary method) League members went forth to find the answers. These were published in many states. Having learned the answers to "Can I vote for the delegates to the State Convention of my party?" and "What do I do to become eligible to vote in the Primary?" citizens went out this year in unprecedented numbers to attend their local caucuses and take part in their primaries.

Between Elections. Just as going to the polls isn't the beginning of citizenship, it isn't the end either. After the elections are over too many people coast until the next election. Between elections the citizen can keep his eye on things by visiting his city council and school board meetings regularly. Often he can get in touch personally with his representatives in local government. On national issues there is nothing like a letter.

That Congressmen *do* pay attention to their mail has been newly attested in an article in the *American* magazine by Representative Javits of New York. The article says in part, "I know of single letters that by themselves have saved millions of dollars, sent high officials to jail, changed the thinking of key congressmen, and resulted in legislation affecting the lives of hundreds of thousands of people." Congressman Javits gives an example in each instance. He goes on to say, "On the matter of changing the points of view of legislators on important issues, letters have all but moved mountains. Especially good letters, letters which analyze an issue objectively and give valid reasons for or against it. Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, for example, is on record as saying that 'good mail' has more than once persuaded him to change his point of view. He has cited the change in his thinking that came about from veterans' letters on Universal Military Training."

Recalling many instances where letters have precipitated congressional action, Mr. Javits leaves no doubt that citizens can be heard if they want to be.

Writing another kind of letter is citizen action too. A thoughtful letter to the editor of your paper can be an effective means of creating public opinion. "I always look at letters from

readers," said a former Cabinet member who not only read the letters to the Editor but wrote quite a few himself. "They perform a very real function and have more readers than editors realize."

Before writing either to your Congressman or to the editor it is well to know what you are talking about. Many civic groups, including the League, provide a real service in helping the citizen to make up his mind by presenting factual pro and con information on subjects of local, state, and national concern. Such organizations also provide opportunity for free exchange of opinions and the sharpening of points of view through discussion.

Making a Start. Learning to be an active citizen can start at any age. In Glen Rock, New Jersey three years ago a Junior High School boy named Jerry Rodts demonstrated active citizenship in a way which brought admiration from many older members of the community. Jerry was acting Mayor when the Junior High School took over the local governmental duties for a day. He took the lead in recommending to the Mayor and Council that Glen Rock build a swimming pool. The plan fell on deaf ears but Jerry and his young friends got to work and fired the enthusiasm not only of young people, but parents and other adults as well.

The Junior High students obtained the required number of signatures for a referendum and were able to get a large turnout for the vote. The town was divided on the issue, but the pool votes won. This didn't end the job by any means. It took a great deal of prodding by a pool committee to get the governing body started on plans and actual building. A year ago the pool became an actuality, all because a group of young people got an idea and saw it through. In the process they learned a great deal about local government and how to organize and accomplish their aims. They "learned by doing."

Acquiring good citizenship habits while in school is desirable, of course, but it is never too late to make a beginning. Pretty much the same techniques can be used whether the start on citizenship education is made in school or in a civic organization. Often the two can work together.

In Louisville, Kentucky, for example, as an outgrowth of student use of a League manual on voting information, the student councils of the Louisville Junior High Schools set aside a week for house-to-house distribution of registration and voting information.

In Columbia, South Carolina, the League worked through the schools and staged a contest to get parents out to vote. Voting tags were used as a check on which school had the largest percentage of voting parents. On election night the President of the League was busy answering her phone—children wanting to know which school had won. The President stated, "There was no doubt about it, the children took their responsibility seriously." Among those who forgot their tags was a State Senator who scurried home and got his.

The boy and girl, the mother and father, the members of the League, the teachers in the schools, everyone who worked to get out this vote had a feeling of participating together in government. They couldn't help but have an interest in the election and concern about the results.

The young man in New Jersey, the letter writers, the workers at information booths, the poll watchers, all have a sense of being part of government. It is a heady experience and one that everyone in this country, young or old, should have.

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS IN A PRESIDENTIAL YEAR

(Continued from page 252)

undiscerning might fail to make a distinction between a cherished institution and the deficiencies in the mechanics of operation.

Whenever the criticisms are legitimate and constructive, Congress should take every action to set its house in order. The very survival of the Constitutional system depends on the profound and abiding faith of the people in representative government.

Not all criticism of Congress is justified by any means. The author has had an opportunity to observe Congress in action at close range during several months. He has been impressed with the large number of self-sacrificing men of high principles, ability, and integrity who are conscientiously trying to do a good legislative job in the public interest. Unfortunately, not all the members can be so favorably described, but the burdensome task that Congress is expected to do demands no less.

Today Congress staggers under the weight of a sprawling bureaucracy which it has spawned by its own legislation and sustains by its annual appropriations. This year it is considering a budget of \$85,000,000,000. Time and time again Congressional committees dealing with these astronomical appropriations lament the fact that they have neither the time nor the staff to scrutinize adequately the justification for proposed expenditures or to determine whether past appropriations have been prudently spent. The individual Congressman who must pass judgment on bills covering a wide range of subjects in which he has little knowledge or interest, finds himself in a state of bewilderment typified by the following statement of Senator Cordon of Oregon, quoted from the *Congressional Record* of April 8, 1952, p. 3748-49.

"... I undertake to say that, as to 90 percent of legislation we pass, our great trouble is that there is not one of ten who knows much more about the measures than the titles or numbers. I include myself among those who seldom know. It is something I do not like to admit. However, it is a confession."

It is no secret that Congress has been unable to get on top of its job.

It has been said that Congress represents in many ways a microcosm of the American Community with wide ranges of individual differences that one might find in a cross section of the general population. While the typical American may pride himself on being what he considers "average," the responsibilities which Congress faces in the atomic age would seem to demand that candidates elected to that body be not just "average" but the best the community has to offer. While the voter can do nothing directly about modernizing the machinery and methods of Congress, he can participate in the selection of those candidates who have the courage, vision and ability to fulfill the responsibilities that a twentieth-century Congress demands. It may be too late when the November general election rolls around to make the selection, since he might feel that he has only a choice then between "tweedledum" and "tweedledee." The alternative to such a situation would be active participation in the party councils and the primaries when the candidates for each party are chosen.

On the intelligent formulation of national policies may well rest the future, or even the survival, of the nation and the world. Such a responsibility should only be entrusted to the ablest hands. In the coming Congressional elections, the voters will have an opportunity to determine how able they will be.

In Defense of the Party and the Politician

Ralph A. Straetz

I AM MAKING this plea for better understanding of the political party and the politician both as a college teacher and as a minor practitioner of the art of politics. It has been my experience that political education on the secondary school level generates the common prejudices against partisanship while extolling the manifold virtues of political independence and non-partisanship. The fact that such attitudes are widely held in the community and are repeated ad nauseum in the press and over the radio does not preclude the responsibility of the social studies teacher and student to examine and question them seriously.

As a people we are wont to boast endlessly about our political intelligence and of the virtues of the two-party system. On the other hand, much of our actual effort is devoted to undermining the efficient functioning of our political parties within the two-party system. For instance, loyalty in our society is usually considered a worthy characteristic. But when a man in politics decides, after running under the label of his party and upon its platform, that he will support the party policies, he is labeled a rubber stamp, or worse, accused of putting his party interests before the national interest.

"I don't vote for the party. I vote for the man." How often have you heard this statement? How often have you made it yourself? How often have you come out of the voting booth feeling

"I look forward to the day when the political club is reestablished in all American communities," the author writes, "when the hometown Democratic and Republican clubs become active, vital, propertied institutions, successfully competing with the Elks and the Moose for the citizen's time. The political future of our country demands it."

Dr. Straetz is well-qualified to write this defense of the politician. A professor in the department of government at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, he is also central committeeman for Oxford Township and a vice-chairman of The Butler County Democratic Central Committee.

the very symbol of political purity for having "scratched" the ballot with great vigor? The voters of my congressional district did this with a vengeance in 1950, giving a majority of their votes to a Fair Deal internationalist for the House of Representatives and to Robert Taft for re-election to the United States Senate. If political stalemate were the goal sought by the voters of this district, certainly they were successful. At the same election, the voters of Ohio elected a Democratic governor and an overwhelmingly Republican legislature. In this case, as in so many others, what the voter achieved was an atmosphere of hostility rather than cooperation between these two important branches of state government.

THE LONG BALLOT

IN THIS day of the long ballot, the attempt to find the "best man" for each office will lead to almost inevitable frustration. The attempt to ignore political affiliations and to select the man who is the best candidate necessitates the use of peculiar qualifications. Choices are often made on the basis of name. Brown and Hogan are considered good political names in my county. Candidates are also chosen on the basis of religious connections, social and fraternal affiliations, and on such imponderables as personality or radio voice. Not infrequently, a candidate is considered primarily because he is bucking his own political organization.

To those who believe in strong political parties and a more responsible party system, it makes sense to have the political label responsible for the actions of those who bear the label. Elect a Democratic or Republican administration and if weak spots develop during its period in office, throw the party in power out. Here then one has the opportunity to center responsibility. However, when there is a governor from one party and a state treasurer from another party, and the legislature divided between the two parties, or in opposition to the executive, situations frequently the case when there is ballot splitting, the various public officials have the opportunity

to blame the other fellow and avoid responsibility for their mistakes.

The Massachusetts or office-type ballot is used in many of our states to encourage a discriminating vote. As far as this writer has been able to discover, there is no connection between the use of this ballot form and the existence of efficient and responsible government. Advocates of a strong party system argue in favor of a ballot which permits voting the straight ticket by a simple check in the party circle as a means of encouraging responsible government.

THE "INDEPENDENT" VOTER

NOT even the most ardent advocate of strong parties would expect every voter to become an active and permanent member of a political party. There will obviously be large blocks of voters moving between the parties. On the other hand, the increasing number of citizens who insist that they are independents, not members of any political party, presents a serious problem to politicians and to the political party. With so many hues and shades in each party, one conceivably might achieve greater consistency in some parts of the country by voting for a liberal Republican and a Democrat or a conservative Democrat and a Republican. Many voters yield to this temptation. But it must be clear that this is only a short-range expedient, since in the long run such action only encourages the lack of cohesiveness in our political parties.

Independence in politics is most commonly an escape from participation and responsibility. The independent, through his refusal to join the party, loses the opportunity to influence directly the policies which are made. Many independents refuse to enter primaries in the states where party affiliation must be openly stated, thus losing the opportunity to choose the candidates to run in the November elections. In other words, the independent limits his activity to the approval or disapproval of men and policies dictated by others. Following the elections, independents find their influence even less potent. The elected officials and the victorious party will naturally take their cues from those openly identified as their supporters.

Frequently the independent gives his major political allegiance to a non-partisan organization, such as the League of Women Voters¹ or the

local Municipal Reform League. Such groups are more partisan than their adherents are willing to admit. One important objection to such groups is their tendency to siphon off valuable leadership material vitally needed by the party.

The idea that there is no place within a political organization for a person of independence is, on the whole, nonsense. The county central committee of which the writer is a member has just placed three young Kefauver leaders on the committee despite the fact that these men strongly bucked the county organization in their campaign to support the Tennessee senator. The political organization, however, does expect the independent to fight his battles within the organization, and when the fight is over to accept the decision of the majority. The organization has no respect for the poor loser, and will give short shrift to anyone who crosses over to the other party or who snipes at the majority decision from without.

THE "PROFESSIONAL" POLITICIAN

THERE is arbitrary leadership at various levels of our political structure. This is due either to indifference on the part of the general membership or to the unwillingness of a small clique to encourage broader participation since such participation might endanger its control. The latter situation is particularly true of minority groups in a strong one-party area, such as Republican organizations in Texas or Democratic organizations in Maine. Arbitrariness, however, is not a usual characteristic of the politician. Those who are attracted to politics are usually of a gregarious nature. They are men and women who like people and are adept at personal give and take. As has been frequently pointed out, compromise is an essential ingredient of democratic politics. For this reason, even when a politician is inclined toward a narrow and uncompromising position, the very nature of politics makes such a stand improbable unless, of course, the area has a popular scapegoat.

The same individuals who criticize party regularity are also usually the people who decry the fact that one cannot trust the word of a politician, that it is difficult to find out what a politician believes or stands for. Actually, the unwillingness of many political figures to take discernible stands on issues is a logical outcome of the search for the so-called best man, the man who so often turns out to be the candidate who means all things to all people. One of our most

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¹ For a discussion of the function of non-partisan civic organizations, see the statement on pages 253-256, prepared for *Social Education*, by a staff member of the League of Women Voters.

Pressure Groups and Elections

Gilbert Y. Steiner

HOW to achieve an equitable system of representation has always been one of the major problems of democratic government. A system dedicated to putting into effect the reasonable will of the majority—and that which is unreasonable is denied by the Constitution—must have some way of translating majority will into public policy. In our system, we have chosen to believe that, on the national level, it is important for people to be represented on the basis of residence. Members of the House and the Senate represent according to geographical districts, and we expect that the problems of the Kansas farmer will get sympathetic attention from the Senators from Kansas, and that the needs of the New Bedford fisherman will be considered by the Representative from New Bedford.

Now, all of this is well and good, and it is undeniably true that our Kansas and New Bedford friends do get help from Washington as a consequence of legislation introduced by Congressmen from those areas. In turn, these same Congressmen come back to the farmer and the fisherman and seek reelection. The problem, however, is much more complex than this. It is simply not possible for the very many economic and social forces operating in this country to find satisfactory representation in the Congress. The result is the development of a multiplicity of special pleaders. These special pleaders have come to be known as pressure groups.

When considered from this evolutionary point of view, it should be plain that there is nothing sinister in the existence or work of a pressure group. It is true that tactics and techniques differ, that some organizations think that the best way to make a point is through a display of potential voting strength, while others find that a display of financial strength is more effective.

Some citizens view all pressure groups with a feeling of alarm. Others are cynical about pressure-group activities. Some, like the author of this article, have a larger perspective. Dr. Steiner is Research Assistant Professor in the Institute of Government and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois.

If, however, there were no Congressmen interested in anything except facts and logical argumentation, then there could be no pressure groups with tactics other than facts and argumentation. The integrity of the pressures on Congress is as high as the integrity of Congress, and the integrity of Congressmen must bear some relationship to that of the people who elect Congressmen.

FUNCTIONS OF PRESSURE GROUPS

PRESSURE groups, or particular interest groups, have an important function that precedes their role in helping Congress and the President make policy determinations. This function involves helping the voting population come to a decision as to how to cast primary and general election ballots. In the 1952 campaign, for example, the great national labor organizations insisted that candidates and potential candidates speak out on their attitude toward the Taft-Hartley law. Similarly, the American Medical Association pressured for a forthright statement on compulsory health insurance, and the League of Women Voters with a particular interest in *The Good and The Just* went to a great deal of trouble and expense to obtain statements from the candidates for nomination as to their attitudes towards the United Nations, Korea, the German peace treaty, and other critical foreign policy issues.

It is most assuredly true that without this kind of insistence from pressure groups, candidates would avoid making their position clear. Every time a candidate takes a position, he must lose some votes. On the other hand, Governor Dewey's 1948 campaign showed that there is a limit to successful equivocation. The total result is that candidates will give answers, but the questions must be asked. The pressure groups ask the questions. One will recall the variety of questions put to General Eisenhower at the Abilene and New York press conferences which followed his return from Europe in June. Although the queries were made by journalists, the problems were problems of importance to pressure groups: a compulsory FEPC, the tidelands oil, federal aid to education. These are exactly the kinds of things which pressure groups have urged on Congress for years. Consequently, they have become im-

portant issues, and it has become important news if a candidate takes a firm stand in favor of a national FEPC, or federal control of off-shore oil deposits.

The point is that the more active, the more intense a pressure group is, the greater service it performs in the course of an election campaign, because the more intense it is, the more insistent will it be on plain talk. In the final months before the national election, then, it will be possible to watch the C.I.O. try to force candidates for Congress to commit themselves to Taft-Hartley repeal, to watch the American Medical Association try to force candidates to commit themselves to opposition to national health insurance, and to watch the American Legion try to force candidates to pledge support for veterans' benefits.

PRESSURES AND COUNTER PRESSURES

PRESSURE groups would present no problems to democratic government if it were not true that every pressure automatically produces a counter-pressure, and it becomes necessary for policymakers to choose between pressures. For example, benefits for veterans is a policy with strong support around the country. Benefits, however, are expensive, and the push for increased benefits develops opposition from groups such as the National Associated Businessmen, which has an interest in keeping taxes down. Similarly the C.I.O. demand for an end to the Taft-Hartley law meets automatic opposition from the National Association of Manufacturers. There is no pressure group without a counter-pressure. The willingness of all pressure groups to abide by the choice made is the thing that guarantees the stability of our system.

One important thing about pressure groups which is too often overlooked is that there is practically no pressure group which is completely monolithic. Thus, whereas the American Legion does pressure for increased veterans' benefits, at the same time members of the Legion who are themselves taxpayers consider increased benefits with less enthusiasm. Again, although employers were strongly behind the Taft-Hartley prohibition on the closed shop, some employers in industries where the closed shop had been commonplace and had been a stabilizing force did not favor this particular Taft-Hartley feature.

The American Federation of Labor claims that its general legislative interest is "Legislation affecting the interest of working people." The United States Chamber of Commerce describes its interest as "All legislation pertaining to busi-

ness." Plainly, elements of the A.F. of L. will disagree with other elements of the A.F. of L. from time to time as to the desirability of proposed legislation, just as the same discord will sometimes develop in the Chamber of Commerce. Each of these organizations really includes dozens of smaller groups with the same general interest but with many different particular interests. It is a mistake, then, to think of a single direct labor pressure group, or a direct management pressure group operating through any of the national organizations. There are instead only general interests which operate in this manner. In order to push a particular interest, a specialized group must be formed which will include only those devoted to this interest.

SINGLE-PRESSURE GROUPS

FOR example, although both national labor unions have a general interest in health insurance as a national policy, too many elements in both the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. are at best lukewarm about such a program. In order that labor interest in the program may be pushed directly, the unions have come to the support of an organization known as the Committee for the Nation's Health, which is a pressure group concerned directly and almost exclusively with national health insurance. The advantage of a separate organization is that it is single-minded and needs make no compromises. The disadvantage, obviously, is that influence is related to voting strength, and the single-purpose organization is the one with the least influence simply because it cannot attract as many people as the multi-purpose group.

Nevertheless, there is no shortage of pressure groups which have single purposes. Among the groups presently registered in accordance with the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act are the Active Retired Lighthouse Service Employees Association, the Menominee Tribe of Indians, and the Retired Officers Association. These groups compete for legislative attention with the Legion and the Chamber of Commerce and the labor unions. Organized pressure groups come into existence whenever a particular interest feels that it is underrepresented in the policy chambers—and there is no interest that feels that it is adequately represented.

One further point should be noted in considering pressure groups. Because they do have particular interests—although the extent of specialization may vary—they become very well informed on the issues that concern them. Conse-

quently, when a policymaker seeks information on a particular matter, it is most likely to be forthcoming from the appropriate pressure group—and there will always be the counter-pressure to correct any misinformation.

IN SUMMARY, then, pressure groups are “natural” in a political situation where policy is made by any group smaller than all of the people meeting together in town meeting fashion. Where there is representative government, particular interests will seek to advance themselves, and counter-interests will develop in opposition.

Pressure groups compel candidates for office to make their positions clear, and seek to transmit the will of their membership to policymakers. The larger the membership, the more effective the pressure group. The most effective pressure groups are those with the largest memberships and the most restricted goals. Pressure groups are simply an additional form of representation.¹

¹ The reader who is interested in the types and varieties of pressure groups appealing to Congress will examine the Congressional Record for May 21, 1952, p. 5796-5841 where quarterly reports of pressure groups are printed for the first calendar quarter of 1952.

THE PARTY AND THE POLITICIAN

(Continued from page 258)

popular local candidates in recent elections boasts of his repeated success in securing bi-partisan support. The favorite line of this candidate is to beg his audience in a throbbing voice not to think of him when they enter the voting booth but to think “of the American flag, the Star Spangled Banner, and our boys in Korea.” Politics on this demagogic level is likely to be the price we pay for our aversion to partisanship.

All over the country these spring months, county committees have been meeting to plan the fall campaign. Whatever differences or animosities were aroused during the primary campaign have been shunted aside and there is a general and insistent demand for unity. Campaign funds have been raised through Lincoln Day or Jefferson-Jackson Day banquets, and by other means. Solicitations are being urged from those interested in the party, as well as from those who owe a debt to the party. Officeholders are levying campaign contributions against themselves and are preparing campaign materials, giving speeches, organizing picnics—all the political activity and paraphernalia for a general fence repairing. Liaison between county and state organizations and state and national organizations, vague and intermittent between elections, now becomes a busy two-way channel of materials, suggestions, “tips,” inside information, and know-how. Favored printers receive contracts for the literature that will soon be cluttering the mail boxes of homes and offices. Though too often full of blatant nonsense, such material will also contain a good deal of valuable information.

The national conventions may monopolize the scene during the summer months, but the prac-

ticed politician is not idle. Into every corner of his bailiwick he goes with a friendly handshake his trademark. Do not be too quick to mock him or ignore him. As an old and respected legislator told the writer recently, “When a man running for office seeks you out to ask you for your vote, feel honored by his interest and listen respectfully to what he has to say. He will respond in kind.” A rapport between officeholder and citizen based on interest and mutual respect is a singularly important part of our democratic system.

IN RECENT years, political scientists have been devoting more of their time and effort to the problems of promoting a more intelligent electorate and a more responsible party system. The Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association has recently completed a lengthy report offering a program worthy of the consideration of every enlightened citizen.² Political parties and the politicians who run them play an indispensable role in the life of this nation. Neither sneers nor jeers nor studied indifference to their activities is a worthy reflection upon our political intelligence. I look forward to the day when the political club is reestablished in all American communities, when the hometown Democratic and Republican clubs become active, vital, propertied institutions successfully competing with the Elks and the Moose for the citizen's time. The political future of our country demands it.

² Committee on Political Parties, American Political Science Association, *Toward A More Responsible Party System*, New York: Rinehart, 1951.

A New Alignment of Political Parties?

Howard White

ACROSS the spectrum of political beliefs, Americans generally agree on one point: that the two-party system is incomparably better than either the totalitarian one-party or the French multiple-party system. We call ours a two-party system. On the national level, it is. But the Democratic party in the Deep South, the Republican party in steadfast Maine and Vermont, and each party elsewhere in many counties have virtually no opposition. The 1952 campaign is not likely to produce any lasting change of partisan alignments in these areas.

A TWO-PARTY SYSTEM?

DO WE have a genuine two-party system? Doubt arises not only from the facts noted above but also from the obvious diversity of political views within each party and, by contrast, from the similarity of many planks in the platforms of both parties, designed by party leaders to win the support of dissimilar and even of opposing interests. Although they usually vote for the candidates of the party of their choice (or inheritance), many members of both parties concede that the differences between the two are about as great as between Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

"There are differences between them, but these tend to fade in the heat of the competition of both parties for all important groups of voters. There are no group interests so far apart that an American party will not try to enclose them in its embrace."¹ The Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association reports that "Alternatives between the parties are defined so badly that it is often difficult to determine what the election has decided even in broadest terms."²

The validity of this indictment has been challenged. One political scientist contends that "plat-

forms do reveal party differences on national issues affecting many groups" although on many other points "the promises, claims, or criticisms of one party were not met squarely by the other." He concludes that "The shortcomings of present platforms lie, . . . not in their failure to present reasonable alternatives, but in a popular belief that platforms have little meaning for the voter. Public belief that platforms rarely reveal party differences probably springs from public ignorance of each platform's contents." This may be the fault of "uninspired journalists who fail to reduce platform verbiage to terms which readers can understand," although it may be that "the Republican press finds it to its advantage to minimize differences in party ideology. By reinforcing the belief of low-income Republicans that little partisan difference exists, the party may be able to retain their allegiance."

Votes on important measures in Congress, the same study shows, do tend to be along partisan lines. "Of 4,658 members of the House in eleven selected modern sessions, only 181, or less than four percent (about 16 congressmen each year), voted with the opposing party more often than with their own."³

Undoubtedly, the minority which breaks ranks consistently, and others who occasionally desert their party, get more attention in the press and thus confirm the popular impression that party labels are meaningless. However, Democratic conflicts over civil rights and Republican differences over foreign policy are too obvious to explain away. The Democratic disagreement over civil rights grows into the issue of national power versus states' rights. On this the Republicans, as the party out of power, join in the defense of states' rights. (The Republicans do not find it expedient to support, openly, the opponents of civil rights for Negroes.) Republican splits on foreign policy grow into disputes over how much

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¹ *Time*, May 19, 1952, p. 29.

² "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," *American Political Science Review*. (Supplement), XIV: 3-4; September 1950.

³ Julius Turner, "Responsible Parties: A Dissent from the Floor," *American Political Science Review*: XLVI, 143-152; March 1951.

of the nation's income can safely be taken by taxes. Dissident Democrats vote with the Republicans on budgetary cuts, particularly on appropriations which will be spent abroad.

IS A REALIGNMENT DEVELOPING?

THESE conspicuous breaks in party ranks have inspired proposals for a realignment of parties, one committed to continuing the New Deal-Fair Deal Program, "creeping socialism" according to its opponents, and the other party uniting all conservative and reactionary elements of the citizenry.

Republican Senator Karl E. Mundt (South Dakota) has been urging an alliance between Southern Democrats and the Republicans. He claims "a strong political kinship between Republicans and the South." In the Congress, voting records of Southern Democrats show "plainly that they are not Fair Dealers. On many significant issues they join Republican Representatives and Senators; or the Republicans join them."⁴

A Bipartisan Committee to Explore Political Realignment has been formed. Co-chairmen are Edward A. O'Neal, Alabama Democrat, a former President of the American Farm Bureau Federation, and Republican Albert W. Hawkes, former President of the National Association of Manufacturers. "The Committee issued its Statement of Purpose on October 25, 1951" and "its Summary of Findings and Conclusions on December 10, 1951," Mr. Hawkes states in the *Final Summary of Survey*, dated January 1, 1952.⁵ The speed with which the Committee has acted indicates not only adequate financial resources and predetermined findings but also an intention to influence party alignments in 1952.

The *Final Summary* is definitely propagandistic in its interpretation of history, as in the statement: "It was inevitable that there should be one political party favoring Federal encroachment on, and another resenting Federal trespass in, this vaguely defined States' Rights area. The one party would favor centralization and the other would oppose it." (p. 4) It should be obvious to anyone familiar with American history that every party in power has been charged by the "outs" with centralizing tendencies. Certainly, during its long rule after the Civil War

(The *Final Summary* uses this term on page 3 instead of "War between the States") the Republican party was not a defender of states' rights. The *Final Summary* recognizes that "it is now difficult for the Republican Party to take an anti-Federalist position, speaking out in defense of States' Rights and Home Rule." (p. 13) Nevertheless, "A victory for the Republican Party in 1952, for the Presidency, Senate and House, may be difficult without effective Southern support." (p. 26) Hence an alliance, "already in effect in Congress," should be widened "into a national political realignment preserving the framework of the two-party system and clarifying the issues." (p. 25)

THE Bipartisan Committee bases its hope for victory on a "detailed study of voting by states and counties in the past four Presidential elections" and on an examination of "voting in both Houses of Congress since 1936." Before counting too heavily upon the formation of their "Constitutional Party" and its certain victory, members of the Committee should consider the study of Southern voters and their representatives made by Professor William G. Carleton of the University of Florida. He found that the South "divides politically just as other areas of the country do . . . liberals to a greater or lesser degree come from all parts of the South." He cites a 1945-1946 progressive-conservative tabulation of congressional votes which shows that representatives of southern states were much more frequently on the progressive side than were those of middle western states. "In the popular mind and even in the minds of most editors, publicists, and radio commentators, the Middle West would be rated more politically progressive than the South, although in fact that notion can bear neither historical nor contemporary analysis." He predicts that "The South will remain Democratic for a number of reasons," one of which is "the fact that the South has more poor folks than any other section—and most Southerners are convinced that the Democratic party is the place where poor folks belong."⁶

⁶ "Why Call the South Conservative?" *Harper's Magazine*, July 1947, p. 61-68. See also V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation*. New York: Knopf, 1949; and Marian D. Irish, "Recent Political Thought in the South," *American Political Science Review*, March 1952, p. 121-141, who concludes "that there is no solid South and no typical Southerner. There are widely divergent economic, social, and political interests in the South. Each Southerner usually defends his own interest and represents his own class."

⁴ "Should the G.O.P. Merge with the Dixiecrats?" *Collier's*, July 28, 1951, p. 45.

⁵ Copies of the *Final Summary* may be obtained on request. The Committee's office is Suite 302, 711 Fourteenth St. N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

A MORE objective and thorough study of political parties than the Bipartisan Committee supplies is contained in Samuel Lubell's *The Future of American Politics*.⁷ "This book has been in the thinking for more than ten years," starting with post-election surveys for the *Saturday Evening Post*, the first in 1940. He interviewed a representative sample of voters and studied votes in selected precincts across the nation. Among the people themselves, "the real drama of political alignment is being acted out." (p. 4)

Is a radical realignment anticipated? Although Lubell finds the Democratic coalition "so furiously divided . . . that it has lost all capacity for decisive political action," (p. 5) he also notes "perhaps the most basic of all Republican contradictions—the G.O.P.'s fondness for a weak President. Calvin Coolidge probably represents the Republican Presidential ideal." (p. 242) If Lubell had looked beyond the nation's boundaries when discussing stalemates, he might have noted that we are not the only afflicted nation. The London *Economist* complains: "This is an indecisive government and indecisiveness is the one quality that could be fatal. . . . When one asks where the blame for lack of decision is to be found, the only possible answer is to point to 10 Downing Street. . . ."⁸

Lubell does not predict a breakdown of "the traditional middle-class basis of American politics." (p. 80) "The essential difference between the Republican-rooted middle class and the newer Democratically inclined middle class is hardly one of conservatism versus liberalism, in the true meaning of these terms. What really separates these two middle classes is the factor of timing—of when each arrived at the state of middle-class blessedness."

This seems to mean that no liberal-conservative division is expected. Yet he repeatedly speaks

of "a national political realignment." How quickly it will come "is likely to hinge on what happens in the South. Some kind of Southern bolt seems certain in 1952." (p. 260) Wasn't the Dixiecrat experience of 1948 a sufficient lesson? Is there anything in the behavior of the Republican party, in choosing delegates to represent their states in the national convention, to raise the hopes of Southerners for a higher moral tone in the public service? If the contest is merely or mainly between the "ins" and the "outs," why should the South sacrifice committee chairmanships in Congress? Or would the Republicans, if victorious with Southern help, let deserters from the Democratic party retain their positions if they were senior in congressional service?

When Lubell gets to the heart of the matter in chapter 12, "The National State," he virtually calls down "a plague on both your houses." He finds "the real governmental crisis tearing the country today," is the "inability to distribute the burdens of rearmament equitably and without gutting the economy." This crisis "cannot be overcome either by weakening the government, as anti-New Dealers have been agitating, or by advancing additional schemes for social improvement as Truman has been doing. The real need is to strengthen government—not to protect either business-as-usual or social-gains-as-usual, but to discipline both to the national interest." (p. 249) "With this issue of the 'national state,' neither of our rival political coalitions has come to grips." (p. 249)

Doesn't this mean that the progressive-conservative realignment is an insubstantial dream? It seems so to me, and I accept that meaning as true. All of us are conservative on some matters, but not the same ones. All of us are progressive on others, and again, not the same ones. No political party can be built exclusively on either liberal or conservative lines. Perhaps the Canadian Progressive-Conservative party has the correct idea, even if it hasn't been very successful in winning elections!

⁷ New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952, viii + 285 p. \$3.50.

⁸ Quoted in the *Washington Post*, May 26, 1952.

So far as I can see, the political parties overlook the deepest human question; for they are all concerned only with externals, with social arrangements of this or that. They have, however, neglected the most important element: Man. It is quantity that interests politicians, not *quality*. (Quoted from Fr. Vinding Kruse, *The Community of the Future*. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1952, p. 13)

National Elections and the Elementary School

Elizabeth M. Minard

AN ELECTION year of national importance provides excellent motivation for teaching elementary boys and girls the importance and value of our system of selecting candidates and voting in our democracy. In my sixth grade class this fall I plan to organize a correlated unit focused around this political event. Participation for children of this age is very important; therefore, we will follow as closely as possible, the regular procedure for registering and voting.

The correct use of reference material will play an important part as it will be necessary to find authoritative information concerning qualifications for voting and registration and election procedure, including the election date. In addition to references, authorities, such as the League of Women Voters, should be contacted. Printed information may be secured from this source as well as speakers who will come to talk to the class. A class trip to the major party headquarters will provide additional material and information.

Class discussions will be many and varied with emphasis upon pertinent news events. Panels will present their views on such topics as:

The Importance of Voting
Voting is a Privilege Granted by our Constitution
Why We Must Know Our Candidates
Qualifications for Candidacy

The children will be urged to listen to at least one campaign speech given by each major party candidate, and, if possible, the class will visit a home to see a televised speech. As a group, we will discuss simple standards for evaluating the speeches within the range of their comprehension; such as:

The author of this article believes that an election year is an excellent time to teach young children something about the nature and significance of the democratic process. Mrs. Minard is a sixth-grade teacher in the South Hill School at Ithaca, New York.

Did the candidate give a point of view?
How was it presented?
Did it have appeal?

Spelling and vocabulary lists will increase daily as the children meet new words. For example, a vocabulary list might consist of such words as: polling, candidates, campaign, registration, amendments, primaries and qualifications. These words and many others will easily become a part of each child's vocabulary through association and regular usage. In writing reports, announcements and posters, the children will find it necessary to spell words, examples of which might be: election, ballot, speech, president and register.

As a group project, a scrapbook of news clippings and pictures will be made. On a large outline map of The United States we will locate the home state of each candidate, the route of campaign tours and other important data.

Posters made by the children will be displayed throughout the school. Original slogans will be encouraged. Some might be:

Vote for . . .
Be a Good Citizen—Vote!
It is Your Privilege to Vote

To provide an experience in registering and voting, the pupils will draw up their own qualifications for registration within their school. An election board composed of children will be selected and will act on Registration Day and Election Day. A registration book will be prepared which will closely resemble an official one. In it will be columns for the following:

Pupil's Name
Birthday
Age
Address
Signature for registration
Signature for voting

During a specified hour or two, eligible voters may register. Ballots will be available to enroll with a party.

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Learning to Vote in the Elementary School

Evelyn C. Stillberger

THE greatest democracy the world has ever seen has to continue on its way with a little more than half of the eligible American voters participating. According to *Catering Industry Employee* (April 1952), in 1900, 83 percent of the Americans eligible to vote, voted; in 1920, 72 percent voted; and in 1948, 51 percent cast their votes. These figures startle and worry thoughtful citizens. Since our democracy is being challenged as never before, can we afford such a laxity in the very process that determines our brand of leadership, and the laws that determine the happiness and prosperity of each citizen in our country? Everything that happens to us also affects the long range destiny of a free world.

Someone must take the responsibility for rearing a new type of citizen—one who considers voting as much a duty as obeying the rules and regulations established by his city, county, state and nation. The necessary attitudes and appreciations needed to live effectively as a voting citizen within the framework of our democracy must be developed in the home and also in the school at all levels. It has been the experience of the writer, after twenty-four years of teaching in the sixth grade in Parma (Cleveland, Ohio) that the elementary school, along with the home, so greatly influence the attitudes toward and appreciations for living together according to the principles of our form of democracy, that the teaching and practice of these principles cannot be postponed until the child is in junior or senior high school. More real aid for this kind of education should be provided for the teachers, and perhaps the parents, by those who carry on experiments in education at the university level.

The author of this article, a sixth-grade teacher in the Parma school system in Cleveland (Ohio), believes that, although civic education begins at home, the elementary school has a major responsibility for the development of active citizens. She here describes the activities carried on in the first six grades at Parma.

THE LESSON BEGINS AT HOME

THE child reared in a home in which democracy is practiced is receptive to a similar procedure in the classroom. He will become a "growing" citizen who insists upon the use of democratic procedure, upon honest discussion and voting as he attempts to solve the major problems confronting his group. The heart of the problem is to learn to live together with the proper amount of freedom that insures personal rights without infringing upon the rights of others; of how to learn personal responsibility for duty without suffering from forms of daily regimentation that breed resentments. Many attitudes and appreciations for democracy are gained in school, but whether the best ones establish themselves in the life of a child, as he grows to the age of a voting citizen, depends largely upon those practiced daily in the home of that growing child.

If a child grows up in a home where each individual in the family is thought of as having rights as well as duties, and if honest discussion of daily problems is permitted and practiced by the parents, in which the rights and duties of each one involved is thoroughly and unselfishly evaluated, the child unconsciously and indelibly gains a "feel" for democratic living, as we know it. The child who is given a chance to contribute to the solution of home problems is usually easy to live with in the classroom. His home background has made him receptive to democratic procedures in the school.

THE growing pains of democracy are very apparent in a schoolroom. The larger the number of children, the greater the tensions and need for concern for the rights of others. Notwithstanding the fact that our school has an average teaching load varying between forty and fifty pupils (due to a rapidly growing community), the majority of the teachers I know accept each new class as a new challenge to perfect their skill in teaching that democracy means "freedom

with responsibility," ever varying the procedures according to the needs of the class. The teacher acts in the role of adviser, and permits the children to discuss and vote on the problems that arise that are within the rightful scope of the children to consider. The teacher must help the class set a high standard for class discussions and teach them proper procedures for conducting a class election. This includes voting for individuals to carry out class needs, as well as voting upon class issues and problems.

THE building of the attitude "that one has a duty to vote and make the best choice possible" begins in the first grade in our elementary school and continues on up through the grades. The higher the grade, the more difficult the problems may become upon which the children vote. One of our first grade teachers mentioned the following as types of problems considered and settled by voting in her grade. First, the children vote to elect "Helpers" for the room: those who head lines; those in charge of milk; those who care for lockers and waste baskets; those who keep the room tidy. Second, the children vote for the types of parties they wish to have during the year and choose the people to serve on committees. Third, the children vote for representatives from the class to serve on the Student Council, the Junior Red Cross, and other school organizations. The teacher uses every opportunity that presents itself to discuss the advantages of voting and why we vote in our school, in our city, and in our nation.

These same problems give opportunity for voting in each succeeding grade, but the issues raised can grow progressively more difficult and give the children a chance to explore every side of an issue. This also gives practice in living under rules and decisions made by the majority. When a child finds himself in a minority group, he learns that he has to discipline himself for the good of the group as a whole. The third-grade teacher gave examples of voting similar to those used in the first grade. But her children, being older and more experienced, also used the vote to select topics they wished to study. In the sixth grade, it has been the experience of the writer, that the children are capable of discussing and reaching the right set of conclusions upon practically any problems that arise daily as they study their lessons.

As soon as the children are acquainted, early in the school year, a class president, vice-president, and secretary are elected and are taught the re-

sponsibilities and conduct of each office. The class also sets up, by voting, the standards or rules by which the members shall be governed. These rules apply whether the teacher is present or wherever the sixth grader finds himself in the school building. Thus, the organization often takes on the aspects of a good citizenship club. Or the class may be organized into squads of several groups who compete to help each other win honorable mentions from teachers and principal, as the sixth graders act as the leaders of the school. Great prestige goes with being chosen to serve on the school Safety Patrol and Student Council, or, for that matter, to be chosen as a room officer for a six-weeks' period to help with the housekeeping chores. A class meeting is held each week at which time the teacher acts only as adviser and helps the class president plan the meeting and choose the topics the children wish to discuss. Moreover, throughout the year the teacher is ever alert to provide every opportunity for the pupils to plan their own program of work.

In the give and take of trying out ideas, the children learn to evaluate right and wrong conclusions. Would that adults were as conscientious and devoted to the right choices and votes as the sixth grader, or, for that matter, any elementary grade child! To them, fair play is a life-and-death matter. Somehow, we must work to retain as high standards of conduct in the officers we elect for adult responsibilities as these children demand of themselves, their chosen representatives, and the adults with whom they associate, including teachers and parents.

SPECIAL ELECTION YEAR ACTIVITIES

THE principal of our school also is using election year and any vital issue to be voted on in Parma to emphasize the idea that "the good citizen is a voting citizen."

The May Primary Election in Ohio was a lively issue in our school and community. The need for an additional million dollars to complete construction of badly needed classrooms was explained to the children who, in turn, acted as good-will ambassadors to urge their parents to go and say "Yes" or "No" on the issue. The facts were presented in an attractive brochure by the administrative staff of the office of the superintendent, and, in turn, were presented to the teachers by the principal. The teachers were asked to hand these out to each child and to read them over with the children. The brochures were then discussed and the children's questions

were answered. Finally, the children took the leaflets home and discussed them with their parents and in some instances, with their neighbors.

The sixth-grade children readily saw that it was to their advantage for their parents to vote "Yes" on the bond issue, since an affirmative vote would assure the children of a seat in a much-needed classroom. In addition, the children understood that an affirmative vote would not increase the tax rate, for the community was growing rapidly and new taxes were being paid. Although they could not vote, they decided that they, too, could function as good citizens by explaining this issue to their parents. And on Primary Day they helped to get out the vote by serving as "baby sitters" and by urging parents and neighbors to go to the polls.

The results of the election were gratifying, with the bond issue carrying far beyond the percentage of votes required by law.

PRIMARY DAY in Ohio was an event of importance in our school for still another reason. A week or so earlier, the principal had given to each teacher and pupil a ballot upon which was printed the names of Eisenhower, Taft, Truman, and Kefauver who were at that time the most popular candidates. The instructions on the ballot said: "Vote for One by marking an X." These ballots were discussed in the classrooms, and as the days went by, in the corridors and on the playground. One enthusiastic sixth grader posted home-made "I-Like-Ike" signs at strategic points in the halls. They didn't last long, however.

Election Day finally arrived, and eager young citizens cast their votes. The votes of each class were tallied by the class tellers, and the results were sent to "headquarters," in this case the principal's office. From there, near the close of the day, came the results of the election. In the school as a whole, General Eisenhower won the Republican nomination. However, in the writer's sixth-grade class, Mr. Taft won the primary vote. For the Democratic candidate, Kefauver won both the school and the class election, as there were few other candidates at that time running for nomination on the Democratic ticket. The entire school poll showed Eisenhower far in the lead of the other candidates listed in both parties.

This primary vote is to be followed in November on Election Day, by a school-wide vote, using

voting booths set up in the gymnasium, according to a plan developed by the principal and teachers. Each teacher is to be asked to use any acceptable procedure in which candidates and issues will be highlighted. It is hoped that the enthusiasm of our young citizens will help get out the vote of the adult citizens of our community, and will leave a lasting impression of the importance of voting.

In 1948, another Presidential Election Year, a poll was taken in the writer's sixth-grade class which predicted the closeness of the election between Dewey and Truman, despite the current political polls to the contrary. The class split and voted half for Dewey and half for Truman. The children insisted that the teacher break the tie. This gave the teacher an opportunity to teach the sacredness of the secret ballot, as she refused diplomatically but firmly to reveal her choice.

WHAT SIXTH-GRADERS BELIEVE

SINCE the democratic procedures inherent in our form of democracy are being lived in our classrooms from grades one through six, it is interesting to ask children in the sixth grade why they think adult citizens of our country should be "voting" citizens.

The following answers pretty well sum up the attitudes and appreciations gained throughout six years in the elementary school, plus the even more important influence of the attitudes gained at home.

Why should a citizen vote? Answered Warren: "People who don't vote usually gripe the most about how things are going!" Added Robert: "We should vote to get the best people in." Sherry, the vice-president of the class, astonished her teacher with the following perceptive conclusion: "In the Bible it says each person is important in God's sight. If a person in our democracy doesn't vote, he doesn't respect himself as an important citizen as much as God respects him as a person."

Our work at Parma convinces us that we are making real progress on the job of civic education. We have every reason to hope that our youthful citizens will continue, as adults, to take their responsibilities seriously, including the duty of voting. As we show enthusiasm for the personal rights we enjoy, hope can expand and grow in the hearts of millions of men everywhere who would emulate, if possible, the principles of the "greatest experiment ever tried in the history of man."

Junior Citizens Vote: Election Materials and Projects

Clarence Killmer

POLITICAL parties set the pattern, but the voter makes the choice. It is by this choice that our democratic society sustains itself, and progresses.

Voting in America is increasingly more important. The enfranchised voter in colonial times expressed a choice for officials supported mainly by a fee system. Public office responsibility was quite direct. The enfranchised electorate today expresses a mass choice for directive officials who are given increasing general powers, and who are supported largely by a general tax system. Public office responsibility today is under control only when the voter votes. Well over three million people are on the national government's payroll alone. Public officers today have direct or indirect control of more than 50 percent of the nation's productive income. Taxation touches every phase of economic life. Governmental services and controls are increasingly expressed in every phase of life. However, the voter still makes the choice.

As social studies teachers, we have a major responsibility for seeing that America's youth understands the nature and significance of the voting process. There are many ways by which teachers can develop this understanding. The more each device is coordinated with the total response-pattern, the better and more lasting is the learning. The goal is to have each child-citizen more aware of his future voting responsibility.

Fortunately, for the teacher many sources of material are available for pupil or class use. A few are already sifted for the age-grade levels, more are in need of such sifting by the teacher before pupil use. The history text, the civics text, and supplementary texts come first. They

The author, a social studies teacher in Wilbur Wright Junior High School of Cleveland, Ohio, here suggests material and projects that will be useful to both elementary and secondary school teachers during the current election campaign.

are usually well indexed under key words, such as: "Ballots," "Campaigns," "Conventions," "Elections," "Merit System," "Political Parties," "Propaganda," "Public Opinion," "Spoils System," and "Voting."

Encyclopedia and current almanacs are readily accessible for reliable information. The pupil's weekly current event papers, the current weekly periodicals, and the daily newspapers furnish up-to-date written page material. Radio and television have much to offer. The local political party headquarters are a source for materials, but care must be exercised to have each major political party equally emphasized. The local election board will help with past election statistics and sample election ballots. Each state compiles election statistics. The children can locate and bring to class the many pamphlets of organized business, labor, and civic-minded groups. A timely exhibit of these materials in the school's display case alerts the entire school population to the impending issues and the personalities involved in the election.

Several of the many recently published books or pamphlets for the teacher and for library reference are worth attention. Among them are *The Presidency* by Stefan Lorant (Macmillan, 1951. 773 p. \$15); *The Future of American Politics* by Samuel Lubell (Harper, 1952. 285 p. \$3.50); *Politics Is What You Make It* by Joseph E. McLean (Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 181, 1952. 32 p. 25 cents).

MASS APPROACH METHODS

Class Study Projects. Social studies classes can study these diverse materials as a two- or three-week project immediately preceding the general election. A running newspaper clipping "election" notebook, dated and annotated, is easily sectionalized into topical coverage of the issues, the opposing political party candidates, and the non-partisan judicial candidates. This notebook project helps each pupil to catalog his thinking. It also provides for individual differences.

Class Assembly Projects. One or two classes can prepare all-school assemblies as their con-

tribution. At least three weeks are needed for preparation. One class may be responsible for developing an assembly program dealing with historical cleavages and issues, the extension of voting privileges, and the progressive changes in the methods of voting. Another class can prepare and present an assembly program devoted to current election issues and candidates.

As an all-school-activity, the art classes may help in developing and preparing stage property background themes. The school glee club, band, or orchestra may also cooperate in adding musical expressions to the theme. The entire assembly audience can participate in a fitting patriotic closing song. One of the leading issues in the present election is the handling of foreign affairs. A background flat painted with a projection of the world is quite appropriate. To accomplish this, a lantern slide drawing is projected on the background flat. The continent outlines are sketched in with a charcoal pencil. Bright flat wall colors complete the task.

In either assembly program, a stage device for concentrating attention on an issue, event, or a candidate is the "picture frame." With a little imagination, this stage property becomes an enlarged television screen, and any time-interval episode can be portrayed back of it with appropriate characterizations. Common characters which offer possibilities are Uncle Sam, Miss Liberty, Mr. and Mrs. Voter, Miss Ballot Box, Mr. Election Official, Mr. Office Holder, Mr. President, campaign managers, and party keynoters.

Election statistics in the form of bar graphs tell a comparative story. Such graphics add variety to an assembly program. The charts must be of a large size, at least 28" by 36" tag board. Several pupils who are good in drawing prepare such comparative bar graphs on local, state, or national election statistics. A percentage relationship to the total vote is readily comprehensible, and makes excellent comparative statistics. Placed on an easel, the charts can be discussed one at a time. For classroom use, mimeographed graphics are a valuable mass-learning aid.

Glass Display Project. Another class may prepare an election display for the main display case. This should consist largely of literature and charts on the current issues and candidates, the voting citizen's qualifications and procedures in voting.

Public Address Project. If such a project can be accommodated by the school's public address equipment, one social studies class may prepare

and present scripts on election issues and candidates. With modern recording-playback equipment, the recorded programs can be played back on schedules convenient to social studies classes at any time during the day.

All School Mock-Election Project. All-school mock elections are interesting and informative. One of the social studies classes can assume responsibilities for this project. A mock election is probably best held the day preceding the public election. Such an election can simulate the regular public election mechanics to a remarkable degree. There is the preparation of registration and voting materials, the supervision of the voting and the tabulation of the results.

Usually a school is organized for administrative purposes by grade-division home-rooms, and student council representatives are placed on a home-room representative basis. Registration can thus be supervised as a home-room activity. Home-room time can be administered on a building-wide schedule over several days. Registration includes the signature of each pupil, his age, and his home-room signature authenticated by the home-room teacher. The home-room student council representative and his alternate supervise the registration. The completed registration lists are turned over to the class in charge of the mock elections.

On the school mock-election day, by pre-arranged schedule, each social studies class during its class period is escorted to the school's election booths by guides furnished by the class in charge of the mock-election. A precinct booth for each year-grade in the school allows quicker voting, and the precinct results are immediately tabulated by grades.

At each precinct table student clerks and judges are seated with cardboard identification signs strung over their shoulders. These students are the election officials. On the election table, at the disposal of the election officials are the home-room registration lists, the voter signature list blanks, and the mock-election ballots. Next to the table are suitable ballot boxes. Each ballot has a perforated number tab space, which is readily removed after each voter votes.

The election officials ask each voter to sign the voter signature list. They check each prospective voter's signature with his signature on the home-room list. If no home-room signature is found, or the signatures do not compare, the prospective voter is not permitted to vote. The election officials must have careful instruction on this, to allow no deviations.

Appropriate secret voting booths should be provided for the marking of the ballots. Each voter should be careful to see that his ballot is folded properly after voting to maintain secrecy. The perforated number tab stub is removed by an election official. Folded ballot and separated stub are inserted in separate boxes. After all classes have voted, the election officials count the ballots and post the results.

A mock-election project merits more relative importance than is usually given to it. The student body is made aware of election mechanics.

They are initiated into the importance of registration, of secrecy in voting, and of methods used to prevent fraud by voters or election officials.

COORDINATION of these various election projects makes for a better and more lasting all-school learning. The social studies classes do the thinking and acting. The all-school projects grow out of the classwork. The goal is a more vivid awareness on the part of each pupil of his future voting responsibility to the society of which he is a part.

NATIONAL ELECTIONS AND THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

(Continued from page 265)

Downtown merchants are often glad to display children's posters for a period of time which helps to make the public aware of the importance of the event.

Original poems or jingles may be composed, for example:

Every citizen of the U.S.A.
Should certainly vote on Election Day.

Prior to Election Day it may be possible to obtain a sample voting machine and invite some member of the local election board to talk to the class about the use of the machine.

Ballots for Election Day will be prepared and a booth arranged for secret balloting. Each voter will place his signature in the registration book as is required in a regular election. Votes will be counted after school voting hours, but before school closes so that the children will know the

results before they go home. Since our school is a regular polling place, the children will be taken in groups to see an actual voting situation.

To culminate the unit, results of the election will be discussed, some state tabulations made and the date and place of the inauguration will be made clear.

The outcomes that I shall expect will be growth in the following areas:

- Interest in the national affairs
- Use of the radio, television and newspapers
- Knowledge of our system of voting
- Critical thinking
- Oral and written expression
- An understanding of freedom of speech and press
- In spelling and vocabulary
- In the use of reference materials
- Group planning and organization
- Citizenship
- Parent interest
- Use of community facilities

American Education Week Will Feature Children in Today's World

The 32nd annual observance of American Education Week, November 9-15, 1952, will again direct nationwide attention to the work of the schools. The central theme of the 1952 program is "Children in Today's World," with daily emphases upon "Their Churches," "Their Homes," "Their Heritage," "Their Schools," "Their Country," "Their Opportunity," and "Their Future."

American Education Week is a time to review the purposes and accomplishments of the schools, to consider their needs and problems, to sharpen public interest in school improvement, and to strengthen the bonds of home, school, and community cooperation. An effective communitywide observance of American Education Week is a good foundation for a year-round program of school public relations.

American Education Week is sponsored by the National Education Association, The American Legion, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the U. S. Office of Education. Special helps are available at nominal cost for the use of planning committees and community leaders who need ideas on what to do and how to do it. For suggestions and prices on the materials available address your inquiry to the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

—IVAN A. BOOKER, Assistant Director, Division of Press and Radio Relations, National Education Association

Our Presidential Electoral System: A Radio Lesson for the Junior High School

Leonard A. Vitcha

CAST

ANNOUNCER

EARL—Ordinary fellow—not too well informed

DON—Well Informed

CHAIRMAN—Conventional

SENATOR SCHULTZ—Pompous

MRS. GRAU—Elector, conventional

SOUND

Station gong	Bus approaching and
Hammering of gavel	stopping
Door open and close	Tearing of envelope
Crowd noises	

(Sound—Door opens and closes)

Earl: Well, I'm glad that's over—for another year at least.

Don: Oh, it wasn't so bad.

Earl: Maybe it wasn't for you, Don. But for me voting is one big headache. All those ballots—whew! One was almost as big as a bed sheet.

Don: Did you mark all of 'em?

Earl: Did I mark all of 'em? How could I—Presidential ballot, national offices, state offices, county offices, judges—

Don: Don't forget the bond issues.

Earl: Yeah, and that, too. Say, the only thing I didn't see on that ballot was dog catcher.

This radio lesson was originally prepared for the Presidential election of 1948 and broadcast over the Cleveland Public School radio station WBOE under the direction of the Division of Social Studies of the Cleveland Board of Education. The author, script writer on the Staff of WBOE, has adapted it for use during the current campaign. Schools that do not enjoy the use of a local radio station can achieve the same results by presenting the play over a public address system. Lack of space prevents us from printing Mr. Vitcha's study guide, which included terms to identify, discussion questions, and reading suggestions.

THE EDITOR

Don: (Chuckle) Municipal offices will be voted on next year—But not dog catcher.

Earl: Next year—another headache. And I didn't even finish voting this year.

Don: Why not?

Earl: One of the booth officials wouldn't let me. And he was bigger than I was, so I gave up.

Don: (Chuckle) How long did it take you?

Earl: Oh, ten minutes, maybe fifteen.

Don: Don't you know that by law you are allowed only five minutes?

Earl: Five minutes? How can anyone mark all those ballots in five minutes?

Don: But Earl, if everyone took ten or fifteen minutes, an election would take two days. You should have taken the blank sample ballots with you—clipped them from the newspapers and marked them before going to the polls. Didn't you study the ballots?

Earl: Oh, I looked at them but I can't be bothered studying 'em. I'm a busy man. I bowl Thursday and Saturday. Our church is putting on a play and I go to rehearsal on Wednesday. Besides,—

Don: Then how did you vote? By the names?

Earl: Of course. How else could I do it? I know I voted for people by the name of Taft, Burton, Day and Benesch.—Good names. Probably related to Senator Taft, Justice Burton, Judge Day, or—

Don: Well, they aren't. No relation at all.

Earl: They aren't?

Don: Of course not. Earl, you're just like thousands of voters who vote for names rather than the actual person.

Earl: Well, I haven't the time to study those things. I'm too busy. This voting business anyway—ballots, major parties, minor parties, electoral college—

Don: (Chuckle) They have no football team, you know. They're not a big nine—

Earl: No wise cracks. I know what the electoral college is—a body of citizens who choose the Presi-

dent—531 of 'em. We choose them and they choose the President.

Don: Right. But did you know that it's possible for the voters to choose one candidate and the electors to choose another?

Earl: What?

Don: Sure, that's right. The voters could choose Eisenhower by popular vote and the electors could choose Stevenson.

Earl: Look, Don. I'm confused enough. Don't make it worse. No electors would desert their candidates like that.

Don: Don't be too sure, Earl. Let me tell you a story I read two years or so ago. It was about a mythical country called "Supposia." A Presidential election was under way. The candidates were Joe Doakes, Frank Green, George Mack and Pat Lacey. Joe Doakes and Frank Green were the major party candidates. The others were minor party candidates. Well, Joe Doakes was due to win and he did—4,000,000 popular vote lead. He had 376 electoral votes; Frank Green had 116; George Mack had 20 and Pat Lacey had 19. In January, following the election, the Congress of "Supposia" met to hear the announcement of the electoral vote (FADE). Everyone, of course, thought Joe Doakes had won. The chairman called the meeting—

(Sound—Crowd noises—Establish

—Two bangs of gavel)

Chairman: This meeting will come to order.

(Sound—Bang of gavel

—Crowd noises down)

Chairman: The chair will read the signed and sealed report of the electoral college.

(Sound—Tearing open of an envelop)

Chairman: (Excited) These are the results, ladies and gentlemen. Most unusual if the chair may be permitted to comment. Joe Doakes, 230 electoral votes; Frank Green, 193; George Mack,—

Senator S: (Off) Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman—

(Sound—Crowd noises up)

Chairman: You are interrupting the chair in its performance of its constitutional duties, Senator Schultz. Is what you have to say urgent?

Senator S: (Off) Most urgent, Mr. Chairman. Did I understand you to say that Joe Doakes had only 230 electoral votes?

Chairman: That is correct, Senator. I have the signed and notarized report of the electoral college here.

Senator S: Mr. Chairman, there must be some mistake. Everyone knows that Joe Doakes should have 376 electoral votes which insures his becoming President. Where are those other votes?

(Sound—Crowd noises up loud)

Chairman: The chair cannot answer that question.

(Sound—Bang of gavel.

Crowd noises down but not out)

Chairman: I shall read the remaining electoral votes; George Mack, 22; Pat Lacey, 23; Rita Grable, 25; Bing Hope, 38. That—

Senator S: (Indignant) Rita Grable, 25 votes; Bing Hope, 38. Mr. Chairman, this is preposterous unprecedented, unheard of, undignified, outrageous. Mr. Chairman—

(Sound—Crowd noises up loud.—Two bangs of gavel and Crowd noises down)

Chairman: This meeting will come to order. And the chair is compelled to rule you out of order, Senator. Since no candidate has the required 266 electoral votes for election to the Presidency, the House of Representatives will choose the President of Supposia.

Mrs. Grau: (Off) Mr. Chairman.

Chairman: The chair recognizes the Honorable Mrs. Grau, elector from the State of Amphibia.

Mrs. Grau: (Off) Mr. Chairman, may I explain for Senator Schultz's benefit the unusual, although not illegal, results of this election. Joe Doakes did lead in the popular vote. Everyone thought he had 376 electoral votes, but when the electoral college met they changed their votes. True, they broke their pledged word; but may I remind the Senator and all of you that the electors are elected to choose a President *as they see fit*. There is no legal or constitutional requirement which compels them to vote for Joe Doakes, Frank Green, or anyone else. They have given their word to vote for certain candidates but they can break their word—which they have done. This, I repeat, is legal and constitutional.

Senator S: But it's unprecedented. One hundred forty-six electors deserted Joe Doakes. This—

Mrs. Grau: It may be unprecedented, Senator, but it is legal.

Senator S: This is revolutionary. Madame—deserting one's party, breaking one's word. Voting for a movie actress, a radio comedian. Electors have made mockery of their duties. Mr. Chairman—

(Sound—Crowd noises up)

Chairman: You are out of order, Senator. The

choice of President will devolve upon the House of Representatives. The chair declares this meeting adjourned.

(Sound—Single rap of gavel)

Don: (On cue) Well, that's the story, Earl.

Earl: Who was elected President of Supposia?

Don: (Chuckle) Bing Hope, if I remember correctly.

Earl: Bing Hope? But he wasn't even running.

Don: The House of Representatives chose him.

Earl: Could that happen in the United States? Could the electors break their pledges and desert their parties?

Don: They could but there is very little chance that they would do so.

Earl: Could they vote for someone who isn't even running—someone like Bing Hope or Rita Grable?

Don: Sure. They could vote for Bing Hope but not for Rita Grable.

Earl: What's wrong with Rita?

Don: Nothing, except that she isn't old enough. The President of the United States must be 35 years old at least and a native born citizen. Supposia had different laws.

Earl: Oh, I see. (Pause) Say, come to think of it, I heard something about some electors deserting their candidate in the 1948 election. What States were they—

Don: Alabama and Mississippi as I remember. Democrats said they would desert Truman. In fact, Democrats couldn't vote for Truman in those states. Twice in our history electors have deserted their candidates.

Earl: They have?

Don: Yes, but the worst defect in the electoral system is the fact that a candidate may seem to win an election but not become President.

Earl: What do you mean?

Don: A candidate may win the popular vote but lose the electoral vote. That happened in 1888 between Grover Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison. Cleveland won the popular vote but lost the electoral votes.

Earl: How did that happen?

Don: It was a close election. Harrison carried several large states by a small majority so he won all their electoral votes—states like New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois. They have large electoral votes.

Earl: Could that happen again?

Don: Of course it could—in a close election.

Earl: Why don't they change the electoral system then? It's peculiar when the people vote for one President and get another.

Don: Well again it's a long story. Some people don't want to make changes in our Constitution. The electoral voting system is a part of our government and they don't want to abolish it entirely. That might lead to an increase in too many minor parties. Our government has usually operated under two major parties. One proposal would allow the electoral votes to be split according to the popular vote. As it is now, the winner takes all the electoral votes in a State. In 1944, Dewey's and Roosevelt's popular votes in Ohio were very close. Dewey had only 10,000 more votes than Roosevelt yet Dewey took all 25 electoral votes in Ohio.

Earl: They should have divided them almost even—Dewey 13, Roosevelt 12.

Don: Something like that.

Earl: Don, I learn new things about voting every minute.

Don: Well, voting is like that, Earl. It's complicated—not always easy but it's—it's—interesting.

Earl: Yes, it is. (Pause) Say, what election did you say was coming next year?

Don: Municipal. Mayor, Councilmen—

Earl: Well, I'll know all the answers about that one. I'll get the facts. I'll not be in the dark as I was today.

Don: Good idea.

(Sound—Bus approaching—Stops)

Earl: Here's my bus. (Off and fade) Goodbye!

Don: Goodbye, Earl—and better voting next time.

Announcer: (On cue) You have been listening to THE NEWS: PLACES AND PEOPLE over your School Station.

How Will They Vote?

Norman Young, Frank Mayans, Jr., and Frederic L. Ayer

IT WAS good enough for Dad and it's good enough for me." Three out of four high school students feel this way about their choice of political parties, according to a pilot study recently completed by the Citizenship Education Project (CEP). A sample of 1000 drawn from nearly 30,000 eleventh-grade students in the United States answered this way when they stated their parents' political preferences and their own as part of a special test administered by CEP.

The test results also suggest that the factors of religion, I. Q., and locale played some part in determining who would be the independent—the one student out of four who did not depend upon his parents to choose his political affiliation for him. The independents, however, must be studied more carefully before any conclusive statements can be made. This, CEP plans to do. The total study, CEP believes, will indicate whether a program of citizenship education can be developed which will counteract robot-like political preference on the part of our electorate, and something about what this program should be.¹

Special interest centers on the students whose choices were different from those of their parents. Five major questions leading toward analysis of detailed characteristics of the independents are being studied by CEP's research staff: Do the independent students have greater interest in politics than their fellows whose political preference is the same as their parents? Is the deviation from parental choice a manifestation of adolescent "revolt" or "hostility"? Do independents give better reasons for their political choices than nonindependents? Do they agree with their chosen party on specific issues more than do the nonindependents? Why are they independents?

Although the study suggests that religion may

have been an influence in the pilot study, there were not enough representatives of all religions in the sample to permit definite conclusions. There is also a hint that intelligence may be a factor. The High School of Music and Art in New York City has the largest percentage of independents, and this school selects a student body which is above average in I. Q. In addition, the religious composition of the student body of this school is not typical—a factor that may limit applicability of conclusions.

THE results of this initial study are not surprising. Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet tell us in *The People's Choice*¹ that a study completed in 1940 showed that the voting behavior of the people of Erie County, Ohio, was influenced significantly by three social factors: religion, socio-economic status, and urban or rural residence.

Combining the three determining factors into an "index of political predisposition," the authors of *The People's Choice* were able not only to predict party preference, but to tell which way a significant number of the "undecideds" would vote. They could also predict the final vote of most of the "changers"—the persons who select one party before election and then switch to another ticket when they cast their ballot. Both the "changers" and the "undecideds," the Erie County study revealed, usually end up voting in the direction that an "index of political predisposition" predicts for them.

IT WAS with the Erie County study as background that the authors of this article undertook to find out the forces that operate on the political party preference of adolescents. Since the Erie County study seems to show that the party preference of adults depends more on cultural influences than on individual volition, we would expect the same to be true of adolescents. And since politics is far from a leading interest of adolescents, and the home the strongest cultural

The three authors of this article are associated with the Citizenship Education Project, Teachers College, Columbia University. Mr. Young is research psychologist and Mr. Mayans research psychometrist of the division of evaluation and research, of which Dr. Ayer is head.

¹ Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. *The Peoples Choice*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.

force, it follows that the political preference of adolescents should match that of their parents.

The writers tested their hypothesis with high school students in six communities: New York City; Elizabeth, New Jersey; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Metamora, Gillespie, and Monmouth, Illinois. Urban, industrial, and rural populations were thus represented. The students were asked to state their political preference, their parents' political preference, and their religion. When the returns were tabulated, the results showed that approximately three out of four of the students preferred the same political party as their parents. The percentages of independents by religion and by locale are shown in Tables I and II.

The CEP hopes that research on the voting patterns of adolescents may help adjust programs of citizenship education so that political skills and responsibilities are more clearly defined. Such programs would help students to learn to analyze the reasons for their political preferences and to

TABLE I
INDEPENDENTS BY RELIGION

	Number	Independents	Percent
Protestant	244	47	19.3
Catholic	114	28	24.6
Jewish	38	14	36.8
No Answer	7	2	28.6
Totals	403	91	

Percent of independents in total group 22.6

TABLE II
INDEPENDENTS BY LOCALE

	Number	Independents	Percent
Elizabeth	69	20	28.9
2 Small Illinois Towns	143	29	20.3
Pittsburgh	173	34	19.7
New York City			
(Music & Art)	18	8	44.4
Totals	403	91	

Percent of independents in total group 22.6

think beyond "It was good enough for Dad and it's good enough for me."

ORIGINAL CARTOONS

Richard E. Gross

UPON several occasions in his high school U.S. history, civics, or social studies classes, preceding a presidential election, the writer has taught for purposes of orientation a unit concerning former elections. In many cases the need for such an introduction is vividly evidenced when a teacher gives a pre-test or asks questions about the organization and functions of our political machinery, party history, and the sources of basic political problems. Unfortunately, these are aspects often neglected in the formal study of civics or government.

Attempting to avoid a dry and factual presentation of an unending parade of political campaigns, the author developed a group of related activities and projects which has served to motivate his pupils and to provide them with a series of valuable learning experiences. Some teachers have developed units on presidential elections which are long-term processes, even including initiatory activities in the spring term before the nominating conventions.¹

VALUABLE as such well-planned units may be, most teachers have to work on a more limited basis. Depending upon the time available and the course of study, the teacher can begin such a unit with the election of Washington or with the election of 1860, 1876, or 1896. Pupils can soon be busily involved in making charts of the development of political parties, mapping electoral and popular votes, or comparing them graphically for revealing years, such as 1888 or 1948; giving oral reports upon the elections decided by the House of Representatives, arguing the question of the constitutional limitation upon the President's power, or defending the principle of votes for citizens of Washington, D.C.

Pupils will also be investigating gerrymandering, poll taxes, impeachment, veto power, the "solid South," and other related problems and terms; reading novels and biographies about presidential candidates, their wives, or the "might-have-beens"; debating the topic "the national alliances which make up the Democratic party

The author of this brief article is an assistant professor of education in The Florida State University at Tallahassee.

¹ See, for example, R. S. Hadsell, "A National Election Project," *Journal of the National Education Association*, March 1936, p. 79-80, and L. M. Barrett, "Organizing a Senior High School Unit for Studying the Presidential Election," *The Social Studies*, May 1936, p. 302-307.

prove it an anomaly"; and preparing a quiz show on "strange facts about our presidents."² Classes will be discussing topics such as the value of the presidential primaries, the abolition of the electoral system, or the place and importance of third parties. Another group may be producing a dramatic presentation surrounding the nomination of a "dark horse," while committees mount collections of campaign buttons or posters, visit a political display in the local museum, and interview a community political leader for one or all of the national candidates. These and 100 other fact-finding, skill-producing, and attitude-building activities will emerge for the ingenious teacher in any classroom as he thinks and plans with his pupils.

The author noted upon one occasion the great interest among the pupils in cartoons concerning past elections which appeared in their texts or in volumes of cartoon collections.³ Since the value of cartoon analysis and drawing is clear and has been described on numerous occasions, another activity was added to the unit.⁴

Each pupil was urged to try and develop at least one original cartoon pertaining to the elections the class had been studying. Pupils lacking the artist's touch or with limited abilities in the areas of thinking which produce successful cartoons naturally hesitated to try their hand. However, as the bulletin board began to prominently

display those initially submitted, class interest grew until nearly all were involved. The cartoons brought endless and valuable discussions—"Just what were the facts?" "Have you presented this fairly?" "What is the purpose of this one?" and "Which form of propaganda is this?"

Eventually pupils rated this activity one of the best of the year. The next time such a unit was taught, a small committee of teachers and pupils judged the cartoons in terms of criteria that did not penalize those less artistically inclined. The students drawing the best cartoons were awarded books by the writer and the school paper ran a feature story on the project, printing a number of the more clever attempts.

Such opportunities for original expression are not only worth while from a creative standpoint, but the work and the discussions which follow lead to a better understanding of history, to a desire to enlarge on this knowledge, as well as serving as a means of improving the pupils' command of a number of social studies skills. In a democratic society students need to talk politics and to take part in politics if they are to understand this basic civic process and develop the enthusiasm towards politics which should mark our citizenry. A project such as the one discussed in this article may serve as a most appropriate means to prepare the class for a reasonable approach to the consideration of the ballyhoo which marks the emotionally charged period of a national presidential campaign. The production of cartoons, the analysis of them, and the knowledge of political issues derived from these activities can do much to help the pupil develop important insights so necessary for the citizen who must learn to find the facts through the maze of high pressure, persuasive materials, and mass-aimed communicative half-truths which tend to characterize certain channels of information during such periods.

¹Pupils enjoy books such as "Peculiarities of the Presidents" by Don Smith, "42 Years in the White House" by Irwin Hood Hoover, and "The Presidency" by Stefan Lorant, in gathering these items.

²Excellent is "A Century of Political Cartoons" by Allen Nevins and Frank Weitenkampf. Scribners 1944.

³Two recent discussions concerning the use and value of cartoons are "Political Cartoons in Current History" which appeared in *The Civic Leader*, October 15, 1951; p. 1-4, and "Problems of Using Cartoons in the Classroom" which appeared in *Civic Training*, February 18-22, 1952; p. 46-47.

Audio-visual materials have varied uses. They may be employed (1) as an introduction or motivation to any particular unit; (2) as the body of a lesson in which the audio-visual materials are the basis of the lesson; (3) as a summary of a particular lesson or overview of future units to be studied, or as a review of previous lessons in a unit of study. (Quoted from *A Handbook for Social Studies Teaching*. New York: Republic Book Company, 1951, p. 128)

Let's Hold an Election!

Theodore L. Carlson

LET'S hold an election!" What social studies teacher has not heard this request from students before every important state or national election? It can almost be taken for granted that high school students in general will have a natural interest in the approaching national election. The use of such a project as a means of teaching good citizenship is well recognized—it is an excellent opportunity to educate students not only in campaign issues and procedures but also in the proper conduct of elections.

Unfortunately, some teachers do not realize the many social experiences and educational values resulting from election projects. Their meager results may be due to the lack of time devoted to the project or to the lack of appreciation of what a well-organized and carefully planned program can accomplish. Too often the civics teacher is assigned the unrelished task and reluctantly accepts the responsibility of conducting the election. The project becomes a teaching unit in the civics classes where a few days are spent in class before the date of the balloting in discussion of various phases of voting techniques and issues. As a final climax, a general school election is held at which every student is permitted to vote for the candidates for the various offices. The result is announced and another successful project is marked up to the credit of the teacher.

However, here, as in other types of good teaching, planning and organization built upon student interest, is the essence of successful accomplishment. The old maxim that "if a thing is worth doing, it is worth doing well" should be

constantly borne in mind. The teacher attempting such a project should resolve to squeeze in every drop of learning experience from the effort. It must be purposeful in achieving certain well defined objectives; it must be meaningful in the light of the student's ability and experience; it must be realistic in the promotion of actual citizenship training. Arbitrarily to set down aims and objectives that have little definite relationship to the project at hand, or to carry on activities which do not correlate with actualities, is futile and disillusioning.

PREPARATORY ACTIVITIES

A DESCRIPTION of an election project carried on in East High School of Aurora, Illinois indicates the tremendous learning potentialities of such an activity. The weeks of time spent on such an effort certainly were not wasted.

In the first place this project was not considered as an educating process only for the classes in government. The civics students accepted the responsibility for stimulating greater interest and learning among the entire student body. At the outset it was agreed that the school election for the more important state and national officials was to be carried out in as near conformity to the general election practices as possible. This meant a preliminary study of election procedure as used in the city of Aurora and the State of Illinois.

Among other things the students learned that their city was divided into political divisions for election and governmental purposes. Thus, the forty-six homerooms (30 to 35 students in each) were similarly organized into wards and precincts which served as basic units for campaign rallies and voting procedures. The three floors of the school building and its wings provided natural divisions. Executive committees for the two major national parties were selected from among the civics students and were intrusted with the task of organizing such campaign activities as promoting political rallies, issuing mimeograph materials, and educating all students in the school in the various election issues and techniques.

After the civics students had been instructed

The project here described was carried on by the author several years ago when he was teaching in East High School of Aurora, Illinois. "I am aware of the fact that election projects are very popular and widely used," Dr. Carlson writes, "but I have the impression that many teachers do not take full advantage of the many splendid opportunities for good citizenship training inherent in such an effort." The author is now professor of economics at Western Michigan College of Education in Kalamazoo, Michigan.

in the operation of the permanent registration system as used in the city, volunteers went into the various homerooms comprising the precincts to explain the plan and its merit. In accordance with the state law, some 28 days prior to the regular election registration boards composed of other civics students were established in each of the wards of the school. These boards passed out registration blanks calling for information¹ similar to that requested of citizens registering for elections in the city. These certificates signed by the students were then placed in official registration books to be used at the polls on election day. Several announcements were made informing the student body that no one could vote who had not registered at least 28 days preceding the date of the election. Although some 1600 students registered with these boards, more than 100 students neglected to do so and later were denied the right to cast their ballots. The work of these registration boards, supervised by the election commission composed of three students, served to educate the entire student body in the purpose and need for proper registration in order to vote.

IN THE meantime, the civics students also were being instructed in the proper manner of marking ballots, such as voting a straight or split ticket, and the significance of cumulative voting for representatives to the state General Assembly as used in Illinois. Sample ballots were then taken to the various homerooms to demonstrate the correct methods. A film illustrating election procedures was secured from the city election board and shown in the auditorium to the entire student body.

Round-table discussion groups of four or five students were organized in each of the four civics classes. A specific issue was assigned to each group. Topics dealing with problems of the farm, labor, business, government, inflation, taxes, and foreign policy were emphasized. As far as possible the basis for grouping was in accordance with the student's own stated preference. A panel chairman was selected and given the responsibility for calling conferences whenever necessary for the purpose of discussing selection and organization of materials, method of class presentation, and other necessary activities. This provided opportunity for the development of active leadership on the part of some students. The various groups

exhibited considerable initiative in deciding among themselves what material they wished to use, and the best method of organizing and presenting their information to the class. In taking notes on their reading the students were expected to follow the accepted practices relative to sources and style carefully and accurately. This provided another phase of good citizenship training—the ability to follow instructions when called upon to do so. The notes not only were used in presenting the findings to the class, but later were utilized in the preparation of a term paper in which the students were expected to emphasize proper methods of foot-noting and bibliography.

These round-table panels were allowed several weeks to prepare their work, each group accepting full responsibility for acquiring sufficient information to enable them to present their topic intelligently to the class. Two days before their discussion began, a brief written outline of the problems to be discussed and the order of presentation was submitted to the teacher for criticisms and suggestions. Some of the group chairmen had these outlines mimeographed for members of the class and others placed them on the blackboard as the discussion proceeded. Although the panel members who had specialized on the particular topic largely monopolized the discussion, other students were encouraged at all times to ask questions and make comments. The arrangement of the chairs in a circle tended to provide a more informal and sociable group atmosphere. The teacher became a student, making comments when necessary to clarify some point passed over too hurriedly or presented too vaguely by the round table members. Each group was allotted three or four days to present their respective topics, the amount of time depending somewhat on their energy, interest, and ability. However, most panels had material sufficient enough for a week or more if time had permitted. In order to attain some measure of success it was found desirable to assign some good students as well as some poor students to each panel. The students were held responsible, not only for the material gleaned from their own research, but also for the information presented by the other groups. Thus, the value of note-taking was soon recognized. This round-table discussion method provided an opportunity to put democratic ideals into practice. This group activity developed cooperation, tolerance, responsibility, leadership, and initiative—all of which are vital aspects of good citizenship training.

¹ Including name, address, age, place of birth, party and signature.

POLITICAL RALLIES

THUS, as a result of their personal investigations and panel participation the students were better prepared to present their views on important issues in the political rallies conducted in the various (school) precincts. These rallies called at various times by Republican and Democratic Party student leaders in selected precincts were held during the homeroom hour as well as during the noon hour. The civics students in charge showed surprising ingenuity and initiative in developing these programs—speeches, campaign songs, slogans. A small German band was organized to provide music for several of these rallies. All of the meetings were conducted in an orderly manner and certainly generated more light than heat insofar as discussion of controversial issues were concerned. The fact that students of opposing political views were willing to attend and listen attentively to a program sponsored by the opposition party spoke well for their good sportsmanship and fair play.

Small mimeographed newspapers or news sheets, in which were discussed political issues and speeches of candidates for the more important state and national offices, were issued from time to time by each political party. Original campaign posters and signs emphasizing the chief issues of the election were made by several civics students in the art classes. These posters were put up in the auditorium during the party rallies and posted in the corridors on the day of the general election. Voluntary contributions to the student treasurers of the two political parties helped to defray the small expense of materials used in conducting the election project.

THE ELECTION

THE election itself was held under the direction of the civics students serving on the election boards located in designated polling places during the noon hour in each of the nine

precincts. Three student judges and three clerks, representing both major political parties, were assigned to each board. These election officials received the signed application for a ballot from the student voter, compared his signature with that on his registration certificate, and issued the official ballot if he had been properly registered. After the voter had marked his ballot privately, he handed it to one of the judges who dropped it into a sealed container. During the time when the polls were open, precinct workers of each political party were active in getting the voters to the polls. The election boards having previously been instructed as to the proper method of counting ballots began their task as soon as the polls were officially closed.² As a final climax, a special edition of the election newspaper was issued. As soon as the votes were tabulated, student typists typed in the results, the mimeograph machine ran off the copies, and members of the civics classes distributed them at the doors of classrooms as the classes were dismissed.

Through the manifold activities students with different abilities and interests were all able to take an active part—those who could speak well had opportunities to do so; those who had artistic ability could make use of their special talent in making posters and cartoons; those who enjoyed writing had opportunity to write; those who had skill in typing and using the mimeograph machine gained still further experience. Above all it was a project for everyone, and every student received a measure of satisfaction that he had done something to make it all worth while. I am sure that all agreed it was hard work, but, as several students expressed it, "it was fun."

² In Illinois, where the minority representation system is in effect, a voter is allowed to cast three votes for representatives in the General Assembly. Thus, since he may cast one vote for each of three candidates, one and one-half votes for each of two candidates, or three votes for one candidate, the counting of ballots becomes somewhat complicated.

... the school must redirect its efforts in civic education to the end that it shall provide the kind of experiences for its students which make for better living together in the democratic way while they are members of the school community, and that it shall also seek to equip them intellectually and emotionally to make the best possible choices of the courses of civic action available to them as adults. . . . (From a resolution adopted by the Commissioners of Education of the Northeastern states and printed in *Education for Citizenship*, a report issued by the Commissioners in April 1952)

Writing the 1952 Party Platforms

David Platt and Herbert Perlman

THE problem confronting us when we were assigned two honor classes in a double-period integrated American History and Economics course in a specialized "bright" high school was highlighted by two fundamental principles. We agreed with Paul Witty that "the truly retarded child is the gifted child." We agreed further that content and method in an honors class should be different from that pursued in a regular class. How to stimulate the bright child to approach his potentialities in a classroom situation different from the usual one, while at the same time covering the required course of study, was the challenge.

A conference was held with Dr. Samuel Steinberg, chairman of our department, during which we explored the problem of how to provide an enriched, stimulating course in a democratic learning situation that would encourage the bright child to approach his potentialities. The coming elections, so fraught with national and world-wide significance, seemed to offer the most stimulating motivating device. The current contenders for nomination were more than adequately covered through newspapers, radio, and television. The issues, however, were, as yet, not clearly defined. Here was our opportunity. Under our guidance, our classes discussed the possibilities of preparing party platforms for the Democratic and Republican conventions, using the required course of study as a frame of reference.

The students admitted that the work would be interesting. But the question of marks, and particularly results on the State-wide Regents examination, caused doubts about the advisability of engaging in this program. After continued discussion in class, interspersed with repeated assurances by us about their marks, students developed the project in which we engaged this term.

The authors of this interesting project involving a group of high-ability students are both social studies teachers in Stuyvesant (New York) High School. "We feel," they write, "that if more projects of this kind are carried through . . . , the bright gifted child will no longer be the retarded one."

PROCEDURE

WE FELT that having a unified theme together with the use of the committee technique would achieve the usual informational, skill, and attitude objectives in social studies. More important was our belief that the wider learnings that are usually left to chance would be attained more readily. Other activities were encompassed, notably: (a) the preparation of original platforms; (b) the construction and enactment through tape recording and assembly presentation of a script based on these platforms; and (c) artistic work, particularly posters and charts, both for classroom use and for publicizing the assembly program.

Though both classes began with foreign affairs, they differed in approach. The committees in Mr. Platt's class pursued their work through the study of geographic areas—Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Near East, Far East, and Latin America. Mr. Perlman's class committees followed a current-problems study—Aid and Recognition to Foreign Countries, The Fight Against Communism, U. S. Relationships with the U. N., and Relationships with Latin America.

In dealing with the second large area of work, domestic affairs, both classes agreed on a nine-topic arrangement. These topics were (1) business organization; (2) prices, wages, and inflation; (3) labor and immigration; (4) taxes and budget; (5) defense; (6) agriculture and conservation; (7) welfare state; (8) civil rights; and (9) political corruption. In dealing with these topics a realignment of committees was carried out so that each student had the opportunity to work with different committees throughout the term.

In every instance each committee prepared both the Democratic and Republican platforms. Shortly after they began their work, the problem of presenting a more idealistic youth point of view presented itself. After considerable discussion both classes decided to prepare a third platform for the Youth of America.

METHODS and procedures varied. At times research was carried on in the library. On other occasions committee coordination work was

achieved in the classroom under the guidance of the teacher. In addition, usual classroom techniques along the lines of developmental lessons were pursued. On their own initiative, individual pupils visited party headquarters or wrote to and received information from campaign representatives of the leading contenders.

When the various committees had completed their work they used a variety of methods in presenting their findings to the class. Quiz programs, student reports and panel discussions were used. Outstanding was the work of the "Fight Against Communism" committee of Mr. Perlman's class. They prepared a script and presented it to the class in the form of a tape recording. The work of the "Defense" committee was outstanding in Mr. Platt's class. They secured on temporary loan two sound films from U. S. Army headquarters and presented them to the class. Considerable evaluation and discussion followed the showing of the films.

From time to time a special coordinating committee consisting of five members from each class received progress reports from both classes so that at all times the work was correlated. As each committee prepared its planks, it presented them to another coordinating committee, which revised them and prepared the final planks to be included in the platforms. Each final plank was submitted to both classes for their approval. Another committee stenciled, mimeographed, and distributed the final platforms, not only to their own classmates but also to eighteen other classes taking the same course.

THE culminating project based on these platforms was an assembly program. A documentary type of presentation following the format of the well-known CBS program, "Hear It Now," was utilized. Attention was focused on four main issues, namely, NATO, inflation, political corruption, and civil rights. Tape recordings of the opinions on these issues of such outstanding community leaders as Congressman Jacob Javits; Stanley Isaacs, minority leader of the City Council; Dr. Frank Kingden, columnist and radio commentator; and Warren Moscow, political analyst of *The New York Times*, were secured and woven into the script of the program.

It was evident that certain definite results had been realized by this election platform project. Featured was the practice of democracy in the classroom. Students were given an opportunity to choose their committees, to elect their own chairmen and secretaries, and to plan their entire

course of action. Training in social studies skills was developed on the habit level as a result of the constant use of a variety of library materials. Controversial issues were aired and given adequate and fair treatment. Current problems were brought to the forefront of attention. The factual material usually covered in the regular course was interwoven with vital problems. Finally, the students saw their work judged by their peers.

Typical of the planks drawn up by the students are the following:

Corruption

Democratic Party. The Democratic Party has always stood for clean and honest government. Toward this end the President formulated a plan to put tax collectors under Civil Service jurisdiction.

We admit that there have been instances of corruption but where they have been discovered the Democratic Party has taken immediate steps to correct the situation. Our party has made every attempt not only to combat corruption but to make certain it never occurs again.

Republican Party. We view with alarm the existing state of corruption in the federal government. We condemn the protection provided corrupt administration members and the refusal of the President to "clean house." We suggest the placement of approximately 15,000 more jobs under Civil Service. We urge more careful checks on political campaign expenditures and the exclusion from public office of persons whose associations with the underworld have been definitely established.

Youth of America. We firmly believe that the existing corruption situation is a deterrent to the functioning of a democratic state. If we are to have a truly representative government, corruption must be eliminated. Thus we pledge ourselves to the support of public education to stimulate wider and more intelligent voting on the part of the people. Expansion of Civil Service and the establishment of a code of ethics in government are other points, we believe, which will help curb corruption.

The Far East

Democratic Party. Communism will be contained if we support the Pacific Pact. Air and Naval aid should be given in support of the French in the Indo-China area. In the meantime technical aid and arms should be given. We must continue our naval protection of Formosa and try to keep Red China out of the United Nations. The continuation of the Korean peace talks and the Japanese rehabilitation program should be encouraged.

Republican Party. The Republican Party pledges full support to Chiang Kai-Shek. We urge continuation and strengthening of the Pacific Pact but with limitations in the use of our troops and our money. We urge continued economic aid to France in her struggle against the Communists in Indo-China. The Republican Party desires to see the rehabilitation of Japanese industry except in the case of heavy war materials.

Youth of America. The Youth of America will not support Chiang Kai-Shek nor will it recognize Mao Tse-Tung. Therefore, in order to strengthen our position in the Far East, Japan should be armed and the Pacific Pact should be supported. We must also continue our present

(Continued on page 287)

The Mock Convention: A Student Experiment

Bruce R. Andrews and D. Joy Humes

INTRODUCTORY American Government courses are all too often justly criticized for their encyclopedic nature, for presenting only the structural outlines of government, and for repeating an established pattern of democratic dogma with little or no effort made to give the student real insight into those political processes that lend meaning and continuity to the operation of the system as a functioning whole.

The American Government staff at Syracuse University, under the direction of Dr. Phillips Bradley, has over the past two years been attempting to reformulate traditional teaching techniques and content material along modern educational lines through the use of the discussion method, cases and problems, student conferences, student evaluation surveys, improved examination procedures, and audio and visual materials.¹ An integral part of this broadly experimental program has been the attempt to enliven the course with stimulating activities intended to arouse enthusiasm on the part of all students, especially those uninterested individuals taking the course simply to fulfill established scholastic requirements, and to foster an active interest in politics with a view toward better citizenship.

When presented last spring with the idea of making student participation in a mock political convention an integral part of the course, the staff received it eagerly, convinced that this device could lend itself singularly as a means of vividly demonstrating to the student something of the political process in general and the procedures and potentialities of political conventions in particular. Some question was voiced relative to the educational value of an activity of the nature of the political convention. Critics felt that conventions typify the more unsavory as-

pects of American politics, that they glorify the "smoke-filled room," the sordid deal, and the manipulative skill of the machine politician. The staff, however, took the position that this, too, was part of the American system and it was the responsibility of the instructor to convey to the students the weakness as well as the strength of their governmental processes.

APART from giving the student an insight into the realities of the political process, a convention promised a means of providing lower classmen with organizational experience, as well as an opportunity to bring individual student initiative and talent to bear on an otherwise bookish course. The art student, for example, would undoubtedly find his talent in demand by a poster committee, musicians would be needed for bands, journalism majors for preparing press copy, radio and television students for publicity purposes in those channels, and student orators for nomination speeches.

But Syracuse University students had not held a mock convention in two decades and although experience on other campuses indicated that students generally received them with enthusiastic approval, there was skepticism as to whether our students would see such a complex operation through to a successful conclusion. A project of this type requires a tremendous amount of time, energy, and organizational ability. Then, too, there are one hundred and twenty-five student organizations, in addition to fraternities and sororities, on the Syracuse campus, and all of them make demands on the students' time and interest. There was serious doubt that an added activity of the nature of a convention would foster sufficient excitement and interest to enable it to compete successfully for student participation. The following account of Syracuse's recent experience with the mock convention as a teaching device should dispel doubts as to its values.

As this article reveals, a properly organized and conducted mock convention provides a valuable educational experience for the participants, and increases their understanding of the political process. Both of the authors are graduate teaching assistants in the department of political science at Syracuse University.

¹ See *Experiment in Revision*, Syracuse University, 1951 for a comprehensive description of the first year of the program.

ORGANIZING THE CONVENTION

THE suggestion to hold a convention had originated with a few members of the Political Union, a campus group composed of various political shades. They had first to convince the administration of the practicality and value of such a venture and then secure its financial aid and the use of university facilities. Encouraged and supported by the Citizenship and Political Science Departments, the Union group won its point, a subsidy of \$500, and use of the fifth floor of Maxwell Hall of Citizenship as convention headquarters.

Inasmuch as the freshman Citizenship and sophomore American Government students were required to participate as part of their semester's work, it seemed advisable that several members of the staff should follow developments closely. Coupled with this would be the students' inevitable need for guidance and advice. Thus two members of the staff of both departments undertook to act in a supervisory capacity. It was understood from the beginning that they would not attempt to dictate or coerce; that they would provide technical guidance and information where needed. Theirs in a sense was to "advise, encourage, and warn," but no more. The teaching staff did, however, fully understand the importance of arousing and sustaining enthusiasm in its classes, for if vitality, awareness, and energy among the students as a group were absent, the convention most certainly would degenerate into a formal, rather meaningless affair.

Since the few Political Union members who originated the idea of holding a convention had pressed the effort to secure administration approval, it was only natural that they were left free to plan the organizational structure which would direct the whole affair. In effect, they set themselves up as the executive, or what they termed "steering" committee, for the convention. Eight additional committees were established,² the chairmen of a majority of these being either members of the steering committee itself, or friends whom it felt could adequately handle the positions assigned and who could be relied upon to see the project through to its completion. This procedure was severely criticized on the grounds that American Government and Citizenship students, inasmuch as they were compelled to participate, should have been allotted most of the choice positions, that a cliquish "in-group" of campus politicians would run the affair to their

own benefit and advantage, and thereby lessen any stimulating effect the convention might have on the lower classmen. While these allegations obviously held a nucleus of truth, they were passed over temporarily because there simply was not sufficient time to allow for careful selection of students from the various classes and for their integration into a functioning group which could rapidly formulate convention plans and translate these into reality. Apart from establishing committees, decisions had to be made as to apportioning delegates to the convention, individual student assignments made, rules and platform formulated, printing and mimeographing provided for, tellers and runners instructed as to their duties, publicity fed to periodicals, the press services, and the downtown and campus dailies, and general campus interest stimulated through novel public relations techniques. Utilization of the capabilities of the Union as the primary organizational core seemed only feasible to get the convention machinery rolling.

ONE of the thorniest problems of the convention experience, and one that arose immediately, was how many of the influential and directive positions should be guaranteed to Citizenship and American Government students compelled to participate, but primarily freshmen and sophomores and presumably politically illiterate, and how many should be left to the Political Union and "outsiders," established compact and energetic groups with considerable organizational experience who could be depended on to devote sufficient time and energy to the project to assure its successful outcome?

After considerable debate in the proverbial smoke-filled room, the decision to allot a relatively high percentage of delegation chairmanships and positions on important delegations to the Citizenship and American Government students was made. In designating the procedure to be employed in assigning these several hundred students to the various allotted positions, however, organizational considerations again conflicted with the desire to give the students a free choice as to the particular tasks they would fulfill. If all students in all classes were allowed to choose for themselves, the task of compiling roll calls for committees and delegations from twenty-five Citizenship and thirteen American Government classes would obviously be a formidable one, and a week or more would surely have passed before all conflicts would have been resolved and all quotas filled. On the other hand, if students

² These included Maintenance, Printing, Publicity, Secretariat, Finance, Credentials, Rules, and Platform.

were assigned to specific positions by class, the task of drawing up lists of names for delegations and of subsequently contacting groups for announcements of various kinds would be greatly simplified, although it was realized that student interest would suffer correspondingly. A compromise was again achieved by which each Citizenship and American Government class was allotted a quota of positions to fill, each quota including three or four positions on particular delegations and committees.

THE steering committee, encouraged by the Citizenship and Political Science staff, had decided upon a Republican convention as there was neither time nor funds for both a G.O.P. and a Democratic convention and, at the time, it appeared that the Republican convention would present sharper issues and be productive of greater interest and intensity of feeling. In order to provide a realistic setting for the mock convention, the general outlines of Republican convention procedure were followed as closely as seemed practical. Thus, the 920 delegates representing the 48 states, the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands were apportioned in accordance with the representation employed by the Republican convention last July: convention rules were fashioned after those approved by the 1948 Republican convention; a Republican Senator was secured to give the key-note address and other opening formalities were complied with; the activities were broadcast and televised over local networks; and an attempt was made to stimulate groups of students to work for particular candidates, thus de-emphasizing the structural formalities and adding life and zest to the proceedings.

The decision to make the convention a Republican one, however, presented a major problem in the attempt to simulate a realistic atmosphere. Since the project was compulsory for well over 500 students, there was a good share, perhaps even a majority, whose sympathies inclined toward the Democratic Party, and it was obvious that these students, if capably led and well organized, might succeed in electing the weakest conceivable Republican candidate and pushing through a platform far to the left of one that Republican students alone would approve.

Another significant variation from regular convention procedure was the lack of any real authority and bargaining power on the part of

delegation chairmen, who at regular party conventions will often exercise sufficient power and prestige to control entire delegations. It was hoped that the minimization of actual power, however, might partially be compensated for by the personalities of the delegation chairmen who were elected to that post by their delegations or classmates, and who might be able to persuade many wavering delegation members to vote en bloc, or at least for favorite son candidates on the first ballot. It would prove interesting to be able to assess the persuasive abilities of these chairmen on a large number of supposedly politically naive or uninterested students. Would there be significant protests and expressions of idealist individuality against the "deals" that would inevitably be promoted by campus "wheels," or would the students lethargically consent to decisions previously made by convention leaders in order to "get the thing over with as soon as possible?"

The Eisenhower, Taft, and Warren groups during the pre-convention period worked assiduously to build up delegate strength through personal contacts, demonstrations, meetings, and debates. Each group strove to line up as many delegate votes and as much delegation chairman support as possible, particularly that of the larger states. Undoubtedly the pre-convention friction between these three groups did much to provide the emotional stimulus necessary to build up the high level of fervor that the convention proceedings were eventually to elicit.

THE CONVENTION

THE convention proper opened on Friday night, March 21, in a flag-bedecked gymnasium although the evening before had been largely devoted to rallies and parades. Delegate attendance at the opening session was excellent. The keynote address, delivered by Senator Frank Carlson of Kansas, was typical of convention oratory, and though the intermittent cheering may have been somewhat exaggerated, the students were obviously entering into the spirit of the occasion with zest. Saturday's activities, however, were to be the real test. The day's opening event was scheduled for 9:30 A.M. and proceedings were to last until the selection of a vice-presidential candidate. Syracuse University's campus is not particularly compact nor its student body socially integrated. It is a cosmopolitan university within a sizeable city (220,000) providing extensive recreational facilities. Aside from this, several formal dances were scheduled for this same evening.

Ability to keep delegates in attendance throughout Saturday night's balloting was to be the real measure of the convention's success.

Saturday morning attendance was again highly satisfactory. The report of the platform committee proceeded uneventfully, with the exception of the "illegal" expulsion of Senator Joseph McCarthy from the party. The expulsion, indicative of general convention sentiment, was highlighted by enlivened debate. The Wisconsin delegation was split on the issue. One segment insisted that the Senator had only succeeded in bringing "dishonor and disgrace to his state, his country, and his party." This was met by Wisconsin delegates who rigorously defended the right of the people of that "great and sovereign state" to be represented by the person of their choice. The latter met with no success and the motion to expel the Senator was passed overwhelmingly by voice vote.

Saturday afternoon's activities dissipated any doubt as to the existence of mass student interest and pleasure. Nominating speeches and demonstrations for particular candidates were met with wild acclaim. The brass bands, the amateur as well as professional placards, the costumes, the huge crowds now orderly and attentive during nominating speeches, then exploding suddenly into frenzied activity as each new nomination was made and demonstration took place—all combined to provide intense excitement and to sustain a high pitch of tension and expectation. The afternoon session was brought to a close at the end of nominations thus postponing all balloting until evening. By this time there was little doubt left in anyone's mind that sufficient delegates would be on hand to make the evening a success.

When the convention was called to order for its closing session, over 700 of the 920 delegates were in their seats. After two long-drawn-out ballots climaxed by frantic last minute deals and promises, and three challenged delegations, Governor Earl Warren of California emerged victorious over General Eisenhower, 358 to 293. The first ballot count had given Warren 170 and Eisenhower 131 out of a total of 710, the remainder going to some 15 favorite sons. It was now approaching midnight and the students who had been in almost continuous session since 9:30 that morning evidenced their weariness by selecting the vice-presidential nominee by a voice vote. Senator Duff of Pennsylvania won the nomination on the basis of an exchange of support with the California delegation for Warren.

A WORD of explanation as to the collapse of the Taft movement seems appropriate, for in pre-convention activities it had shaped up as a potent force. Apparently a group of students sympathetic with the democratic cause felt that the nomination of Taft by the student convention would be of some vicarious advantage to the Party proper. Taft, they argued, would be the easiest Republican for the Democrats to beat and it thus became their function to do all they could to influence public opinion to that end. However, as the Eisenhower movement gained strength and it appeared as though Taft couldn't possibly get the nomination, these "would-be" Republicans withdrew their support of the Senator and departed for the Warren camp. The Taft movement then fizzled out.

LOOKING BACK

IN RETROSPECT it will be seen that any doubts as to student ability to organize and conduct such a complex and detailed undertaking were rapidly dispelled as the convention progressed to its climax. Delegation chairmen, many of them sophomores and a few freshmen, performed in an extraordinarily competent fashion. It should perhaps be noted that the chairman of the successful California delegation was a sophomore coed and the delegate from Wisconsin who moved to expel McCarthy was also a sophomore. Fear that the organizing group would usurp all positions of importance and deaden widespread student interest proved groundless.

American Government and Citizenship students were required to submit reports following the convention, either analyzing their own convention experiences or critically analyzing one of several problems related to the convention as a political process. The American Government staff also asked each student to submit a log of his convention activities as well as a file of newspaper and magazine clippings relating to the party primary and convention contests held throughout the country. It was hoped that in this way the student would relate his mock convention activities with developments pertaining to the real convention.

Student reaction to and benefit from the convention experience as indicated by the content and calibre of the reports was unanimously favorable and rewarding. Many students frankly admitted that they had at first resented being compelled to take part in an activity which was as time and energy consuming as the convention, but almost without exception they agreed that

they had found it entertaining and informative, and recommended that it become an established campus practice for ensuing presidential election years.

It is interesting to note that a reasonably accurate convergence of general student sentiment relative to issues and candidates was achieved in the adoption of a platform somewhat to the left of that usually associated with the Republican party and in the selection of Warren, the candidate of most pronounced liberal sentiments. The choice of Democratic and Republican students together, in other words, was that of the Republican candidate most nearly reflecting Fair Deal attitudes.

The "learning by doing" technique is obviously of immense value, especially where it is possible

to provide a reasonably realistic setting for student participation and in those situations which appeal to the student's sense of the dramatic and which capture his imagination. The mock convention was profitable in terms of the factual knowledge acquired by the student and it also presented him with the opportunity to observe or participate in numerous situations calling forth that spirit of compromise, of "give and take," which is so characteristic of our democratic process. As for generating interest in practical politics, the staff feels reasonably confident that many students who but for the mock convention would have paid scant attention to pre-election political activity, were glued to their radio and television sets this past summer as the national party conventions progressed to their conclusions.

WRITING THE 1952 PARTY PLATFORMS

(Continued from page 282)

Korean policy with its willingness to attain an honorable peace. We should also aid France and England, both militarily and technically in their struggle against Communism in the Far East.

Asking ourselves whether the project was worthwhile, we harked back to our initial concerns: Did it meet the challenge of realizing the potential capacities of an honors class in a stimulating, effective, and progressive manner? Did it cover the required course of study even though it used completely different procedures from those employed in a regular class? From comparisons made with other classes taking the same course, we concluded that the course of study was adequately covered. The following sample quotes reveal typical student reactions:

I was given the opportunity to use my own initiative, something not present in previous courses. . . . Some good points of this course were that it gave us a chance to work together in committees, to form friendships and to carry responsibility. . . . Here we had the opportunity to go beyond the usual humdrum classroom activity and hold meetings, have discussions and really delve into the subject. . . . The final test of the course, in my opinion, is comparing what I learned with what my friend learned in their regular classes. Upon doing this, I found that we had covered much the same as the other classes, and that we had delved deeper into the more important aspects of these topics than the regular classes. . . . Although one might say that in this type of class the student loses a great deal of factual material, it is actually a case where a student acquires an understanding of the field or topic rather than a group of isolated facts. I, as most of the boys in the class, perfected my ability to compile information from sources other than a textbook or encyclopedia and to form some basis or conclusion from this information.

Not all the comments were favorable. A considerable number of adverse comments highlighted pitfalls which the alert teacher who conducts a project of this type must recognize. Here are samples of those unfavorable comments:

The work that was done by committee should have been supplemented by additional work in class. . . . In the class there were many more Democrats than Republicans making for a very poor balance. Thus when students in class whose personal beliefs were Democratic presented G.O.P. views, they were often incomplete or fallacious. . . . I feel that the Youth Platform idea was useless and meaningless. Asking "What does youth think?" is similar to asking "What do the majority of people 37 years of age think?" The answer to both questions is that both groups held views from the extreme right to the extreme left. Youth does not present a "solid wall" as was mentioned in the assembly program and it is not expected that they should. The result of the formulation of such a platform is a weak, contradictory set of compromises which very few would accept as their own view or opinion. . . . Each member of the class became familiar only with the small facet of the general topic to which he was assigned. . . . The committees were given too long a time in which to collect information. Five or six library periods were used to do research which might have been done in one or two.

In conclusion, we feel that if more projects of this kind are carried through in the other secondary schools throughout the nation, the bright and gifted child will no longer be the retarded one. More important is the realization that living democracy within school will contribute generally toward the effective functioning of an alert, progressive democracy in adult life.

Notes and News

32nd Annual Meeting—Dallas November 27-29, 1952

The thirty-second Annual Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies will be held in Dallas, Texas, November 27-29, 1952. Convention headquarters will be at the Baker Hotel which will house some of the meetings and the educational exhibit. Other meetings will be held in the Adolphus Hotel. Both the Baker and the Adolphus Hotels will be used for sleeping accommodations. The two hotels are directly across the street from each other so they will be equally convenient for those attending the meeting. All social studies teachers, administrators, and others interested are cordially invited to attend this meeting.

John H. Haefner, University High School, University of Iowa, and first vice-president of the National Council, is serving as chairman of the program committee. A varied and stimulating program is being planned that will be of interest to all concerned with the social studies at the various grade levels.

Donald MacKay, assistant superintendent, Dallas Public Schools, is serving as chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee. He and his committee are arranging a warm welcome and a number of special Texas events for your pleasure and comfort while you are in Dallas. All indications are that this will be an outstanding program and an occasion that will long be remembered.

You are urged to begin making your plans at once to attend this meeting of your professional association that will be of both practical and inspirational value to you. You can also help by urging your colleagues to attend. Write directly to either the Baker or Adolphus Hotel for your room reservation and state that you are planning to attend the 32nd Annual Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies.

Nomination of NCSS Officers for 1953

Officers for 1953 will be elected in Dallas at the time of the NCSS Annual Meeting on November 27-29. Send your suggestions to any of the following members of the nominating committee: I. James Quillen, Stanford University, California, chairman; W. Linwood Chase, Boston University; Burr W. Phillips, University of Wis-

consin; Edith West, University High School, Minneapolis; Mary G. Kelty, 3512 Rittenhouse St., N. W., Washington, D. C.; Dorothy Pauls, Soldan High School, St. Louis, Missouri; and Dorothy McClure Fraser, Adelphi College, Garden City, New York.

NCSS members should take this request for suggestions for names for officers as a serious responsibility. Your nominating committee needs your assistance. In suggesting names, please submit a brief biographical sketch of the persons you are nominating and indicate why you believe the persons you suggest would make good officers.

The officers to be elected in Dallas are: President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and three members of the Board of Directors for a three-year term.

Middle States Council

Dr. Eleanor Thompson of the William Penn High School in Philadelphia was elected President of the Middle States Council on May 2-3. Dr. Franklin Burdette of the University of Maryland was chosen as first Vice-President, and George Oeste of the Germantown High School in Philadelphia as second Vice-President.

Other officers for the 50th anniversary year are Edwin M. Barton, Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania as secretary; Alice W. Spieseke of Teachers College, Columbia University as treasurer; James E. Blakemore of the Great Neck High School in New York as editor; Muriel L. Crosby of the Board of Education of Wilmington, Delaware, as chairman of the elementary section; and Helen V. Harper of the Truesdell Laboratory School in Washington, D. C. as vice-chairman of the elementary section.

Elected members of the Executive Committee include George C. Reeser of Wilmington, Delaware; Muriel N. Hoover of Washington, D. C.; Edna Carter of Baltimore, Maryland; Moe Frankel of East Orange, New Jersey; Hall Bartlett of New York City; and Howard Drake of Lansdowne, Pennsylvania.

Regional representatives are John A. Munroe for Delaware; Eber Jeffrey for the District of Columbia; E. Russell Hicks for Maryland; Maude Austin for New Jersey; Charles E. Ray for New York; and John Niemeyer for Pennsylvania.

L.S.K.

NCSS-NEA Meeting, Detroit

The National Council for the Social Studies held two sectional meetings on June 30 in connection with the summer meeting of the National Education Association in Detroit. The program for this meeting was arranged by Stanley E. Dimond of the University of Michigan and a past president of the NCSS. The program for this meeting was:

First Session. Presiding, Elmer Pflieger, Supervisor of Social Studies, Detroit Public Schools; *Teaching in a New Industrial Community*, E. Samuel Taylor, Principal, Spencer School, Willow Run; *Teaching in an American School in Europe*, Lawrence F. Read, Assistant Principal, Ypsilanti High School; *A Curriculum Director Looks at the Social Studies Program*, Edgar Farley, Director of Instruction, Battle Creek Public Schools.

Second Session. Presiding, Stanley E. Dimond, Professor of Education, University of Michigan; *Evaluation of Critical Thinking Skills*, Harry Berg, Counseling and Examination Department, Michigan State College; *Teaching about the United Nations*, Camilla Savage, Teacher, Woodward High Schools, Toledo, Ohio; *The Role of the Problems Course in the Social Studies Curriculum*, Scott Westerman, Teacher, University of Michigan.

Alabama

The Alabama Council for the Social Studies met in two sessions at the annual A.E.A. meeting on April 4th. At the luncheon meeting two recently published films for use in social studies classes were shown. At the afternoon meeting Laverne A. Brooks, University of Alabama, formerly field relations officer for the Citizenship Education Project, spoke on "Imperatives in Citizenship Education."

New officers elected for the coming biennium include: President, Fannie Mae Faulk, Dothan; Vice-President (colleges), Ernest Stone, Jacksonville; Vice-President (high schools), John Jackson, Virgo; Vice-President (elementary schools), Mrs. Faye Smith, Vernon; Secretary-Treasurer, Mary Robertson, Decatur.

This year a larger number of Alabamians have become members of the state and national councils than ever before.

J.C.M.

Nebraska

The Fortieth Annual Meeting of the Nebraska History and Social Studies Teachers Association was held at the University of Nebraska on April

25-26. Ruth Dodge, president, presided at the opening dinner meeting at which Robert K. Sakai, University of Nebraska spoke on the *Post War Situation in Japan*. Darel McFerren, Hastings College, was moderator for the open discussion. At a breakfast session on April 26, James R. Sellers, University of Nebraska, spoke on *Forty Years of the New History*. Carrie Roberts, Lincoln, and Irma Costello, Omaha, served as co-hostesses. At the next session Fern McBride, Hastings, spoke on *Forty Years of History Teaching Problems*; and Elizabeth Shaver, Lincoln, talked on *Forty Years of Minutes*. Ruth Dodge presided at the business meeting. At the luncheon session, Darel McFerren, president-elect of the association, presided and Eugene Anderson, University of Nebraska, spoke on *History Makes History*.
R.D.

Wisconsin

The annual spring meeting of the Wisconsin Council for the Social Studies was held in Madison on May 3. The theme for the meeting was "Methods for Improving Group Discussion." Speakers were: Nevin James, Wisconsin State College at Oshkosh on *Establishing Standards for Rating Group Discussion*; and David Fellman, University of Wisconsin, on *Current Threats to Basic American Freedoms*. New editors for the *Wisconsin Councilor* are: Kenneth Sager and Elizabeth Plowright, Senior High School, Appleton. The executive board of the WCSS have voted to create student memberships at 50 cents per year.

There were two section meetings. The elementary section panel discussed "Practical Techniques for Improving Class Discussion," and the secondary group held a demonstration panel discussion on "How Can We as a Nation Impose our Moral and Ethical Standards?"

The Wisconsin Council for the Social Studies joined in sponsoring an Institute on Education for Citizenship with the summer session of the University of Wisconsin in Madison June 30 to July 3.

W.D.

Lincoln-Douglas Council

Last year the Lincoln-Douglas (Illinois) Council for the Social Studies had as a theme for its meetings throughout the year "Improving our Economic Understanding." At their November meeting William Bradford, School of Commerce, Northwestern University, spoke on *The National Income in War and Peace*. In February a local banker, Richard Linney, discussed *The Importance of the Federal Reserve System in our Na-*

tional Economy. At the March meeting Kurt Bretscher, a Springfield investment broker, spoke on *The Place of the Small Investor in Our National Economy*. In April the group visited a new Sears, Roebuck store and a representative of the company from Chicago discussed *The Place of the Retail Store in the Community*.

R.B.McK.

Saint Louis

The Greater Saint Louis Council for the Social Studies held a somewhat different kind of program in connection with its spring meeting. It was organized as a dinner meeting in the downtown Y.M.C.A. On the tables all around the room were social studies exhibits of work done in the St. Louis and St. Louis County Schools. The exhibit covered work done in all grades from primary through high school. Following the dinner, different teachers explained their exhibits, the learning that took place in their preparation, and told of the work they were doing in their classes.

M.G.R.

Southern California

The spring meeting of the Southern California Social Science Association was held on March 29 at the California Institute of Technology. The meeting opened with a tour of the campus, including such points of interest as the "electronics brain"; the high voltage laboratory, the model of the Palomar 200-inch telescope, the Synchrotron, the hydrodynamics laboratory; the hypersonic wind tunnel, the geology museum, the teaching materials laboratory. This was followed by an address by Hunter Mead, California Institute of Technology, on *Science and the Social Sciences*. The luncheon meeting, address by Norman R. Fertig, University of Southern California, discussed *International Relations in the Social Studies Curriculum*.

R.L.

Florida

At the annual convention of the Florida Education Association held in Miami, April 17-19, 1952 the social studies section of the FEA voted to accept a constitution drawn up by a steering committee and to formally organize as the Florida Council for the Social Studies. This action was an outgrowth of a series of meetings held about the state earlier in the spring where the idea of forming a state council had been discussed. Following a discussion of the purposes and projected plans of the newly created organization, Richard Gross of Florida State Uni-

versity spoke on *Handling Controversial Issues in the Classroom*. Lee M. Bowes, Winter Park, was chairman of the group. Elected officers of the new council are: president, Mrs. Louise Blanchard, St. Petersburg; vice-president, Addie Boyd, Miami Beach; corresponding secretary, William Nimroth, St. Petersburg; and secretary-treasurer, Margaret Lumpkin, Lakeland. Directors were elected from each of eight districts with one director at large.

R.E.G.

Puget Sound

The Puget Sound Council for the Social Studies met at the University of Washington on April 17. The featured speaker was Giovanni Costigan, Professor of History, University of Washington who spoke on *Civil Rights*. Emlyn Jones, Director of Social Studies, Seattle Public Schools, gave a report on his trip to the Annual Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies in Detroit. The Puget Sound Council, organized in 1935, now has one hundred and forty-seven members.

E.J.

Capitol District Council

Dr. Howard A. Rusk, Associate Editor *New York Times*, spoke to the Capitol District Council for Social Studies in Albany, N.Y., on March 9 on *Crippled People in a Crippled World*. At this meeting on May 5, Ethel Alpenfels, New York University spoke on *The Contributions of Anthropology to the Social Studies*. W.W.T.

Missouri

The Missouri Social Studies Council met in Columbia on March 21-22. The featured address on the program was given by John Haefner, University of Iowa, and first vice-president of the National Council who spoke on the topic *The Nine Dogmatisms of Social Studies Teaching*. New officers elected at the meeting were: president, Grace Gardiner, Springfield State College; vice-president, Arch Troelstrup, Stephens College; and secretary-treasurer, James A. Burkhart, Stephens College.

J.A.B.

All social studies teachers and social studies organizations are invited to send in material for these columns. Send in Notes on the activities of your school or organization and other items of general interest to social studies teachers. Mail your material as early as possible to Merrill F. Hartshorn, Executive Secretary, National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Contributors to this issue: James A. Burkhart, Ruth Dodge, William Dunwiddie, Richard E. Gross, Emlyn Jones, Leonard S. Kenworthy, Raymond Luttrell, Ruth B. McKinnie, Jonathon C. McLendon, Maynard G. Redfield, Wallace W. Taylor.

Pamphlets and Government Publications

Manson Van B. Jennings

Political Citizenship

This year in particular the spotlight is on politics and politicians. It is the one year in every four in which the largest portion of our citizens become active politicians—at least to the point of casting a vote. All of us are politicians to some degree, if only in a negative sense, and as citizens in a democracy we are in politics whether we like it or not. The quality of politics, however, may be good or bad, depending upon the nature of our participation. Do we vote in every election? Do we participate in primary campaigns? Do we try to influence our elected representatives and officials on public issues? Are we active in civic or other organizations interested in better government and otherwise improving the community? If the answer is in the affirmative, we are probably all-year-round citizens. But, whether we are part-time or full-time citizens, part-time or full-time politicians, politics is what we make it.

Such is the theme of Joseph E. McLean's *Politics Is What You Make It* (Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th St., New York 16, No. 181 of the Public Affairs Pamphlets, 32 p. 25 cents). Having the usual format and high standards of Public Affairs Committee publications, this pamphlet follows its introductory material with a consideration of how the citizen participates in the election process, dealing with qualifications for voting, with primaries, and with the importance of voting on election day. The final sections outline what the citizen-politician should do to be a year-round citizen, and conclude with suggestions for active participation in the 1952 campaign, listing several organizations that are already developing a coordinated program for getting out the vote at the community level.

World Citizenship

Traditionally, citizenship has been associated with membership in a local, state, or national community. But with the advent of two world wars, and the developments of modern science and technology culminating in the use of atomic energy, we inevitably find ourselves members of the world community. This is one inescapable fact of which we have gradually become con-

scious during the twentieth century. Leonard S. Kenworthy's *World Citizens for a World Community* (Friends Central Bureau, 1515 Cherry Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa., 17 p. 15 cents) makes an analysis of some ten qualities he believes should be characteristic of our world community of the future, and in so doing establishes some goals for world citizenship. He then develops seven essential characteristics of the world citizen, and concludes with ten suggestions for the individual who aspires to implement the goals of world citizenship in a world community. The pamphlet is designed to present ideas for discussion leaders, and should prove helpful to teachers as well as provide provocative reading for students.

Social Citizenship

In this year of national elections, we must not lose sight of the continuing need for personal participation at the community level if our ideals of effective citizenship in a democracy are to be realized. Nor should such participation be restricted to the activities of political organizations. *You Hold the Key to Human Rights* by Sonya F. Kaufer and Ethel C. Phillips (published by the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, and available at Literature Headquarters, 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati 37, Ohio: 1952, 82 p. 50 cents) outlines various practical suggestions for improving human relations in the community. Probably more useful to teachers than to high school students, this attractive pamphlet presents ideas that can be applied not only in the field of human relations but in many other areas where community action may be desirable. Certainly, the modern problems teacher who wants to extend the activities of his students from the classroom to the community should find this publication helpful. Moreover, the appendix includes the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; a list of organizations that supply materials on human rights, intergroup relations, and civil rights and liberties; and a selective seven-page bibliography of books, pamphlets, articles, films and filmstrips, complete with addresses and cost of the item cited.

A somewhat more complete listing of films on human relations can be found in *Selected List of Human Relations Films* (published by the Film Division of the American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, 15 cents), a well-organized 28-page pamphlet, listing over 60 films with short annotations.

In the related field of civil rights, the Community Relations Service (386 Fourth Ave., New York 16) has made available a 27-page pamphlet, *The People Take the Lead—A Record of Progress in Civil Rights, 1947 to 1952*, in which a listing is made of achievements in this area under various headings: Armed Services; Athletics; Citizenship; Education; Employment; Housing; Professional, Business, Religious and Fraternal Societies; Public Accommodation; and Miscellaneous. And the facts in each of these categories are further subdivided into administrative measures, legislation, court decisions, and voluntary action. Each fact is listed in almost as brief a manner as a newspaper headline, without providing any of the narrative of each particular event. But the total listing is impressive and serves as a useful index for further investigation.

Consumer Education

The Consumer Education Study of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals (1201 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington 6) has published a good deal of material for secondary school teachers and students in the field of consumer education. A bibliography of their publications in this area lists eleven teaching-learning units for secondary school students at 50 cents each, and five handbooks for teachers ranging in price from 10 cents to \$1. Included among the latter is a *Handbook of Free and Inexpensive Teaching Aids for High Schools* which sells for \$1 a copy and lists some 1200 classified entries. Applying to all of these materials are special discounts for quantity orders.

International Relations

On the subject of American foreign policy, textbooks become out-dated even before they come off the press. Students and teachers, therefore, have to rely heavily on pamphlets and periodicals, though rarely do such publications attempt a survey of foreign policy that examines our various policies as they are being implemented in the four quarters of the globe. Prepared at the suggestion of President Truman, *Our Foreign Policy 1952* (Department of State Publication 4466, General Foreign Policy Series 56, 79 p. for sale by the Superintendent of Docu-

ments, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, 25 cents) begins with a short analysis of the roots of our foreign policy, and then examines our current policy in various parts of the world, giving attention not only to specific areas but also to certain policies such as the Truman Doctrine and the Mutual Security Program which involve more than one nation or area. There is, of course, no real depth to this treatment, but it successfully presents the main outlines and trends of our policy, and should prove particularly helpful to teachers who have read the daily papers but have not had time to organize day-to-day events into meaningful patterns. The pamphlet should also be useful to students for selective reading or reference purposes.

A somewhat more specialized and scholarly treatment of an aspect of American foreign relations can be found in *Rearmament and Anglo-American Economic Relations—A Problem Paper* (The Brookings Institution, Washington 6, 64 p. 60 cents). This publication is one of seven books or pamphlets resulting from a new program of research and education in the field of international relations inaugurated by the Brookings Institution in 1946. The pamphlet is organized to provide an analysis of a particular problem. In this case, "The problem is to determine the policies that the United States should pursue in order to help bring about the maximum contribution by Great Britain to the joint rearmament effort and to the strengthening of the free world." The bulk of the material is divided into two main parts, the first of which deals with the background and development of the problem, while the second considers main issues and alternative courses of action, without, however, making any recommendations for a particular course of action. This study, although probably not to be recommended to high school students, should prove pertinent for adults wanting to become well informed on the problem of Anglo-American economic relations.

On the subject of current world affairs, we are all too well aware of the critical importance of developments in Europe and Asia. The same cannot be said of our understanding of the situation in Africa where even now new crises are in the making—crises of no less significance to the rest of the world than to the people of Africa. For it is in Africa that new episodes are unfolding in the struggle between East and West, with the U.S.S.R., the greatest empire builder of recent times, assuming leadership as an anti-colonialist power in the fight to free the African people from Western imperialistic exploitation.

A full analysis of the situation in Africa and of its impelling significance in international affairs is presented in a Headline Series pamphlet by Harold R. Isaacs, *Africa: New Crises in the Making* (Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th St., New York 16, 62 p. 35 cents). Published with appropriate maps and graphs, this pamphlet should provide challenging reading, appealing to more able high school students as well as to teachers.

Miscellaneous Materials

The two latest Public Affairs Pamphlets to be released are *Getting Ready to Retire*, by Kathryn Close, and *Children Who Never Had a Chance*, by Lucy Freeman (25 cents each, and available in bookstores or at the Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th St., New York 16). The former makes a special point of the need for a person approaching retirement to develop new interests and otherwise plan sensibly for the type of life one should lead when retirement begins. The latter deals with federal-state programs of assistance to children who for one reason or another lack proper parental care and support. Both can be useful to teachers and students in modern problems courses, though the one on retirement will obviously have less immediate interest for young people.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's *Tax Loop Holes* is a provocative statement on public tax policies published by the Public Affairs Institute (312 Pennsylvania Ave. S.E., Washington 3, 31 p. 50 cents). This is but one of a series of pamphlets published by the Institute and ranging in price from 25 to 50 cents, most of which deal with current problems and provide fine resource material for better students in our modern problems and current events classes.

The problem of loyalty among personnel in the federal government, and particularly in the State Department, has been one of the more prominent controversial issues of the past several months. *The State Department's Loyalty Security Program* (Department of State Publication 4530, Department and Foreign Service Series 25, 13 p. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, 10 cents) describes the machinery the State Department has established for screening applicants for positions in the Department and maintaining a continuous security check on them during their period of employment.

Among the materials published by the federal government that often receive little publicity but nevertheless are of considerable value to social studies teachers are the various periodical re-

ports to the President submitted by the heads of departments and other administrative branches of government. Typical of these is *Strength for the Long Run*, the fifth and final quarterly report by Charles E. Wilson as Director of Defense Mobilization (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, 48 p. 35 cents). This report is well illustrated with charts and graphs and covers the work of all the defense agencies as well as other departments related to the defense mobilization effort of the United States and the other free nations of the world. It contains a wealth of factual information that is well organized and clearly presented for reference purposes, giving a comprehensive view of the breadth and depth of the defense effort.

Of critical importance both to our military security and our standard of living, both now and in the future, is the proper utilization and conservation of our natural resources. The May, 1952, issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* is devoted to *The Future of Our Natural Resources*, and includes two dozen articles on various phases of the conservation of mineral and energy resources, forests, soils, and water resources. As is true of other issues of the *Annals*, this one should prove to be an excellent teacher's resource, and might well be useful to higher ability students. The *Annals* are issued bi-monthly to members of the Academy (annual dues are \$5), but may be purchased in paper cover by non-members for \$2 from the American Academy (3817 Spruce St., Philadelphia 4, Pa.).

In many communities, no subject is more controversial than that of group, cooperative or socialized medicine, and discussions on the subject frequently generate far more heat than light. It may be appropriate, therefore, to point out two pamphlets that definitely shed some light on the subject, although it must be admitted that each, as it should, expresses a definite point of view. The League for Industrial Democracy (112 East 19th St., New York 3) has published *The British Health Service* by Julius Manson (1951, 26 p. 25 cents), giving a sympathetic, documented treatment of the British experiment in socialized medicine. Another approach to the problem of providing adequate medical attention for all is found in *Cooperative Medicine* by James Peter Warbasse and published by the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. (343 South Dearborn St., Chicago 4, 78 p. 50 cents—5th edition—1951). Incidentally, the Cooperative League will be glad to send you a free catalogue of its rather extensive literature.

Sight and Sound in Social Studies

William H. Hartley

Visualizing the Presidential Election

Several teachers have written this department concerning the availability of audio-visual material for use in connection with the important November elections. There are some excellent motion pictures and filmstrips available and they do a good job of creating interest in the elections and help to clarify the procedure. Below is a selected list of material which has been tried and found worthwhile:

Motion Pictures

How We Elect Our Representatives. 10 minutes; color; rental, apply at nearest film library. (Coronet Films, Coronet Building, Chicago 1) An introduction to the election procedures including registration, primaries, electioneering, voting, and tabulation of votes.

Inaugural Story. 11 minutes; color; rental, \$4. (Al Sherman, 1612 Wisconsin Ave., N.W., Washington 7, D.C.) The pictorial account of the inauguration of President Truman in 1949.

Political Parties. 10 minutes; color or black-and-white; rental, apply nearest film library. (Coronet Films, Coronet Building, Chicago 1) A simple treatment of the place of political parties in our government and the relation of local groups to the national organization.

The Presidency. 10 minutes; rental, apply nearest film library. (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 W. 42nd St., New York 18) A March of Time film showing the growth of the President's power.

Tuesday in November. 20 minutes; sale, \$28.56; rental, apply at nearest film library. (Government Films Department, United World Films, Inc., 1445 Park Ave., New York 29) A day at the polls in a small town showing process of voting and counting the votes.

Filmstrips

Election Day Is the Pay-Off. 63 frames; sale, \$5. (C.I.O., Film Division, Department of Education and Research, 718 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.) How labor organizes for election day.

Political Parties and Elections. 39 frames; sale, \$5. (McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 W. 42nd St., New York 18) The best filmstrip for advanced students interested in learning the constitutional basis for the election procedure and how parties have grown and taken over the nominating procedures.

President Is Elected. 40 frames; sale, \$2. (New York Times, Office of Educational Activities, 229 W. 43rd St., New York 18) A review of the 1948 campaign. Shows nominating conventions, campaigns, and elections. Also explains the electoral system.

Your Vote—A Priceless Heritage. 50 frames; color; rental, \$2. (Workers Education Bureau, American Federation of Labor, 1440 Broadway, New York) A filmstrip urging workers to vote in order to avoid the consequences of

unfavorable legislation. Suitable for high school classes discussing the composition of the electorate.

Film of the Month

American Harvest. 30 minutes; color; free loan. The Jam Handy Organization, 2821 East Grand Boulevard, Detroit 11, Michigan.

This department has never before selected a commercially sponsored film as the outstanding film of the month. *American Harvest* is an exceptional film. Photographed in beautiful technicolor, this film shows the contribution of agriculture to the nation's strength in commerce and industry. It is really a tribute to the American farmer, but more than that, it furnishes pictorial evidence of his importance in our economy not only as a producer of food, but also as a supplier of vital raw material for industry. It tells a story which is so large that many of us sometimes lose sight of it.

The theme of *American Harvest* is that the farmer, though he plows alone, is not alone. His whole life is tied in with the lives of others who depend on him and on whom he depends. This story of interdependence is portrayed by means of sequences on the wheat of the West, the cotton of the South, the great corn harvests, the rancher and the sheepman tending their herds. The geographical range of the picture extends from the turpentine groves of the Atlantic seaboard across the nation to the fertile acres of California's once-arid San Joaquin Valley.

The farmer's contribution to industry is shown in an excellent sequence on the making of an American automobile. Fiber from the fields is transformed into plastics, lacquers, and fabrics. Mohair from angora goats end up as seat covers for the farmer's family car. By the marvels of creative chemistry, grain is processed directly into the plastic ingredients of artificial leather.

Who paid for *American Harvest* and what do they get out of it? It is sponsored by General Motors; the automobile being manufactured is a Chevrolet. That is the extent of the advertising. Like many another industrial giant, General Motors has given up the blatant, knock-'em-down-and-sell-'em type of advertising. They have come to the realization that their best advertising lies in the establishment of good will. This picture

is a contribution to a better understanding of our American economy. Schools will find it an effective and valuable tool for learning.

Recent 16-mm. Sound Films

AAA Foundation For Traffic Safety, Pennsylvania Ave. at 17th St., Washington 6, D.C.

Borrowed Power. 19 minutes; color; sale, \$150.; black-and-white; sale, \$50. This is an attitude-building educational film which tells the story of a high school student who forgets good sportmanship when he gets behind the wheel of an automobile. He is arrested for speeding and reckless driving. He comes to realize that his own will and intelligence must control the "borrowed" power of the car he drives.

British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

A Picture of Britain. 22 minutes; rental, \$2.50. An interesting social and industrial impression of modern Britain and her people, showing step by step the British scene in agriculture, trade, and industry. This is the story of the development of new materials, new processes and new alloys.

Britain's New Resources. 10 minutes; rental, \$1.50. Britain's economic position turns her ingenuity more and more upon her own resources, seeing what new one can be exploited and by what means she can develop the use of raw materials already familiar.

Caribbean. 25 minutes; rental, \$3.75. Gives a picture of the West Indian Islands, British Guiana, and British Honduras. Shows the raising of sugar, cocoa and bananas, and points to the problems of housing, education and health.

Commonwealth of Nations. 30 minutes; rental, \$3.75. This film is designed to show, generally, the present nature, extent, and constitution of the Commonwealth, its purposes, the benefits deriving from it, and the relationship among members.

The Jam Handy Organization, Inc., 2821 East Grand Blvd., Detroit 11.

Waves of Green. 38 minutes; color; free loan. An historical treatment of the beginnings and purposes of the land-grant colleges and universities. Shows the advances made by agriculturists and scientists working together to improve crops and stock on the farms of America.

McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 West 42nd St., New York 36.

Design of American Public Education. 16 minutes; sale, \$80. Compares and contrasts the operation of the "assembly line" kind of education process with one that is tailored to meet the needs of today's young people.

Northern Rampart. 18 minutes; sale, \$80. Alaska, too, seeks statehood and this film shows how transportation, absentee landlordism and the salmon industry would be changed if they became a state.

The Forty-Ninth State. 16 minutes; sale, \$80. Tells why Hawaii has much to offer and much to gain by becoming a member state. Shown are pineapple and sugar industries, tourist attractions, customs, dances and everyday life. Stressed is the fact that the islanders feel that the marketing of sugar is one of their chief problems that

will be solved when they receive the long hoped for grant of statehood.

The High Wall. 32 minutes; sale, \$90. The story of prejudice and bigotry which takes the form of a teen-age gang war. A psychiatrist probes the causes underlying the hate-chain and makes it apparent to the audience. Produced under the joint sponsorship of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the State of Illinois Departments of Public Information and Mental Health and the Columbia Foundation of San Francisco.

The School and The Community. 14 minutes; color; sale, \$125.; black-and-white; sale, \$65. How the school and the community can be welded into a working partnership to which each contributes and from which each draws its rightful share of mutual benefits.

Treasure House. 18 minutes; sale, \$80. The displays, models, panoramas and other materials of the Smithsonian Institute are introduced in this film. Note is made of the many research projects carried on by the Institute. Other recent films in this series are *Moroccan Outpost*, *Formosa*, *China*, *Japan and Democracy*, *Tito-New Ally?* and *Crisis in Iran*.

Wonder House. 18 minutes; sale, \$80. A visit to the American Museum in New York City to see displays, traveling exhibits, and the wonders of the Hayden Planetarium.

United World Films, Inc., 1445 Park Ave., New York 29.

On the Track. 16 minutes; color; free loan. Shows how we are all dependent in some measure on the services of the railroads.

Southeast Asia. 29 minutes; color; free loan. An interesting and highly informative film about natural rubber and the people who harvest it, shown against a backdrop of a constant threat of armed aggression.

The Growth of London. 16 minutes; sale, \$125. Begins with a village on the Thames in the pre-Christian era and traces London's principal historic and economic developments to the present. Clear, realistic maps, diagrams, and models help to make the picture clear and interesting.

Wilderness Transformed. 20 minutes; color; free loan. How a great Canadian wilderness became a source of riches to the Dominion when its mineral resources were developed. Shows how many jobs were created and how it produced upwards of \$50,000,000 worth of copper and gold each year.

Young America Films, Inc., 18 East 41st St., New York 17.

Cheating. 10 minutes; sale, \$45. Without beating about the bush, this film takes a forthright approach to the problem of dishonesty in the schools. It dramatizes a typical school situation in which cheating occurs. Other titles in this series include *The Other Fellow's Feelings*, *Other People's Property*, *The Outsider* and *The Bully*.

Conducting a Meeting. 10 minutes; sale, \$45. Demonstrates and explains to group leaders and member of their groups the basic pattern for parliamentary procedure which contributes to an efficient and successful meeting. Planned and produced under the supervision of E. C. Buehler, Director of Forensics at the University of Kansas. Other films in this same series are *Stage Fright and What to Do About It*, *Platform Posture and Appearance*, *The Function of Gestures*, *Using Your Voice*, *Planning Your Talk*.

Filmstrips

Audio-Visual Materials Consultation Bureau, Wayne University, Detroit 1.

Adventure for Defense. Sale, \$3.50. Presents a detailed and true picture of what a graduate can expect when registering for the draft, during induction, and during the first few days in military service.

How Pupils and Teachers Plan Together. Sale, \$3.50. The variety of ways in which pupil-teacher planning is conceived and the way one teacher practices joint planning with her pupils is presented in this filmstrip.

Making Field Trips Effective. Sale, \$3.50. Effective techniques for planning field trips that will yield maximum benefits are illustrated in this filmstrip. Values and purposes of field trips are also pictured.

The Jam Handy Organization, 2821 East Grand Blvd., Detroit 11.

"Learning To Study," series of 7 strips; complete set \$21.; each, \$3.50. Cartoon treatment and the use of humor help to provoke student thought and discussion concerning the mastery of study skills in many functional situations. The titles are *Study Headquarters*, *Getting Down to Work*, *Using a Textbook*, *Taking Notes in Class*, *Giving a Book Report*, *Writing a Research Paper*, *Reviewing*.

Life Filmstrips, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

"Series A." 8 filmstrips; sale, per set \$15.; each \$2.50. Each month *Life* publishes a filmstrip on a current topic. The entire series is now being made available at the same price as originally offered. Titles include: *South Africa*, *Korea*, *The Navajos*, *Part of New York*, *The New Indonesia*, *Israel*, *Yugoslavia*, *Iran*.

The Protestant Revolution. 60 frames; color; sale, \$6. The latest in *Life's* series of color filmstrips traces the history of the rise of the Protestant churches. Other titles in this series include *Ancient Egypt*, *Athens*, *Renaissance Venice*, *The American Revolution*, *The Middle Ages*, *Age of Exploration*, *France in the 18th Century*.

Young America Films Inc., 18 East 41st St., New York 17.

Great Explorers. Series of 6 filmstrips; color; sale per set \$30.; each \$6. Recreates the dramatic story of each of the following explorers: *Marco Polo*, *Marquette*, *Cabot*, *Cortez*, *Magellan*, *Lewis and Clark*.

Of All Things

A Picture Set on the history of photography, consisting of 11 glossy pictures, size 12 by 15 inches, costs \$1.00 from the British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20. Ask for the picture set entitled "Century of Progress—Photography."

A Bibliography of "Motion Picture Films on Planning and Housing" may be obtained by writing to The American Society of Planning Officials, 1313 East 60th St., Chicago.

Tape Recording in the Classroom is the title of a valuable booklet which is sent free upon request by Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co., St. Paul 6, Minn. This booklet contains tips on developing more active interesting work in all grades, besides helpful information on editing, splicing and storing tape.

Lantern Slides and How to Make Them is a 38-page booklet describing accepted techniques in the production of hand-made lantern slides. This practical and stimulating guide is free from the Educational Sales Division, Bausch & Lomb Optical Co., 786 St. Paul St., Rochester 2, New York.

A Projection Chart showing the proper way to set up audio-visual equipment for the best results is free from the Radiant Manufacturing Corp., 1221 S. Talman Ave., Chicago. It includes tables showing the correct relationship between focal length of lenses, projector-to-screen distance, and size of screen for movies, slides, or opaque projection.

Opaque Projection Practices is a brochure filled with ideas about opaque projector use. Published monthly it is sent free to interested teachers by the Charles Bessler Co., 60 Badger Ave., Newark 8, N.J.

Listenables and Lookables is a new magazine designed to give advance information of network programs which have educational value or utility. Included are questions to guide viewing or listening, information on all kinds of programs on radio and TV, occasional synopses of forthcoming radio and television dramas. One year's subscription costs \$2.50 from *Listenables and Lookables*, 61 Lafayette Ave., East Orange, N.J.

Helpful Articles

Brown, Ralph Adams. "Locating Resources for the Teaching of Local History." *The School Review* 60:292-297; March 1952. Suggests such sources as public documents, newspaper files, local biography, cemeteries, business records and people in the community.

Coleson, Edward. "Teaching Locational Geography on The Elementary Level." *The Journal of Geography* 51:147-151; April 1952. Recommends outline map use, drill games and a variety of devices.

Dietrich, Tom. "Lights! Camera! Action!" *NEA Journal* 41:304-305; May 1952. A description of a school movie made in Aurora, Illinois.

Grabber, Adaline. "How My Vacation Travels Helped My Social Studies Classes." 69:46-47; June 1952. This teacher collected slides, pictures and relics to enrich her teaching.

Hall, Olive A. "That Test Was So Interesting." *Educational Screen*. 31:102, 117; March 1952. Some interesting examples of how pictorial material maybe included in a test to give it spice and meaning.

Jones, Louis C. "The Cooperstown Idea." *American Heritage* 32-41; Spring 1952. How the New York Historical Association serves the scholar, the teacher, the enthusiast through the museums at Cooperstown. Excellent illustrations.

Perez, Alvaro. "Teaching with Tape." *Americas* 4:12-14, 44; June 1952. The methods which Georgetown University uses in teaching language by tape have implications for the social studies.

Reid, Seerley. "How To Obtain U.S. Government Films, 1952." *School Life* 34:120-121; May 1952. A chart showing what governmental agencies have films and how to rent, borrow or buy them.

Roberts, Franklin C. "Third Dimensional History." *American Heritage* 60-61; Spring 1952. A course on wheels given by the Boston University and investigating the "Origins of New England, 1620-1820."

Sherman, Mendel. "Helping Teachers Use Opaque Projection." *Educational Screen* 31:141-142, 150; April 1952. Answers a great many questions concerning the most effective use of the opaque projector.

Book Reviews

20TH CENTURY ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE.
By Paul Alpert. New York: Henry Schuman,
Inc., 1952. xiv + 453 p. \$6.00.

"It is widely acknowledged today that the world has been in a state of transition ever since the close of the period of the classical liberal capitalism of the nineteenth century, which came to an end in Europe in 1914 and in the United States probably in 1929." These words in Dr. Alpert's introduction define what he means by the twentieth century, and place the time limits for his book. On the whole, he has done a good job in setting forth the economic structure of Europe in 1914, the impact thereon of World War I, the period of depression and the prelude to World War II, World War II itself, and the post-war era since 1945.

There is a vast amount of knowledge in the book, and some excellent interpretations, particularly in his chapters on Germany and Great Britain. The author's shrewd comments on Germany's follies in 1914 and again in 1939 (p. 18, 188) are fully justified. His analysis of the effects of the war-time bombing of German industry from 1942-1945 is amply sustained by the report of the American committee which investigated the subject after the war. His excellent explanation of the Marshall Plan and of the "Point Four" program (p. 377 ff.) is one of the strongest aspects of the book. His conclusions (p. 452-453) seem sound and entirely justified.

On the other hand, there are too many instances of hasty proofreading or careless composition. The Russian prime minister in 1907 appears with a misspelled name (p. 20); the name of Norman Angell's famous book just prior to 1914 is wrongly cited (p. 24); the British statesman, McKenna, has his name spelled in two different ways (p. 47, 130); Seymour Parker Gilbert is cited under an inversion of names (p. 58); even such a common noun as Britain is misspelled (p. 135); the author's figures on U.S. steel production, cited on p. 224 and 427, are grossly understated; Camille Gutt is not now the head of the International Monetary Fund (p. 333); there is a too frequent mention of the adverb, "already," in some chapters running into a repetition that becomes tedious; and, in the reviewer's opinion, too rosy an estimate of the economic successes of the U.S.S.R.

The data and map to illustrate the Schuman plan are helpful, as is the excellent index.

J. DUANE SQUIRES

Colby Junior College
New London, New Hampshire

THE CHANGED POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE NEGRO
1915-1940. By Elbert Lee Tatum. New York:
Exposition Press, 1951. 205 p. \$3.00.

THE NEGRO FREEDMAN. By Henderson H. Donald.
New York: Henry Schuman, 1952. 270 p.
\$4.00.

The marked increase within our time of historical materials by and about Negroes has resulted in a temporary crisis in the historiography of this people. Briefly stated, the problem is how to broaden and deepen research into virtually untapped sources while periodically collating the results of these labors for general use by historians and laymen.

Dr. Elbert Lee Tatum has endeavored to meet this problem by outlining the pattern of Negro political thought before 1915 and then proceeding to break new ground with his own study. The result is a very readable and informative book. With an election year coming up the reader will be interested in the story of the displacement of Negro leadership in southern Republican parties by the "lily-whites," and the subsequent mass transfer of Negro loyalties to the Democratic party.

The author also analyzes the relations of the Negro people with the Democrats, though this is done rather imperfectly. The impression is given that Democratic bids for Negro votes are a very recent northern phenomena, but a study of southern politics will reveal that South Carolina Democrats, hard pressed by a fusion ticket in 1880, nominated several Negroes for office and elected three of them to the state legislature. Similarly in 1886, the Kansas Democrats nominated W. D. Kelly, a Negro, for state Auditor, and he polled ninety-two thousand votes, though he failed to win.

Dr. Tatum shows how the humanitarian liberalism of the New Deal carried special significance for the Negroes who rallied *en masse* behind the party. Herein lies a unique condition, for in strengthening the party and helping it

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gain majorities in Congress the northern Negroes have helped make it possible for southern Democrats to head key Congressional committees and exercise a strong anti-Negro influence upon the party and the nation. It is unfortunate that Dr. Tatum did not touch upon this contradiction in Negro political life and its implications for the future. But we must not quibble, for within a mere two hundred pages the author has made a distinct contribution to our understanding of the Negro people.

Dr. Donald's purpose is to afford a sociological view of the effects of emancipation upon the freedmen in such fields as religion, land and labor, social status, family life, social customs, and politics. Such a study is sorely needed for our knowledge of this period is largely drawn from sources outside the Negro community and, in many cases, from individuals hostile toward the freedmen.

It is to be regretted that Dr. Donald did not avail himself of much of the new materials concerning this period. It is especially disappointing that he did not employ the rich sources available in the Negro press. The volume abounds in apocryphal stories of ignorant freedmen, the ubiquitous "pegs" that Negroes allegedly bought to mark their land emerge early in the story, and the comic-opera versions of the Negro as a legislator are unfolded in some detail, but one looks virtually in vain for the views of the Negroes of that time. Nor is it merely a matter of bad sources. For example, Dr. Donald errs badly in his interpretation of the causes for the elimination of the southern Negro from the skilled trades of the region. To blame the matter on the alleged revulsion of the freedmen toward manual labor is to completely overlook the emergence of the poor whites in the post-bellum south as labor competitors who employed the devices of Jim Crow to drive the Negro workingman from the skilled crafts.

Dr. Donald's study does serve to direct our attention to the many areas of Negro life affected by emancipation. Undoubtedly it will stimulate additional studies in this very important field.

JACK ABRAMOWITZ

New York City

REALITIES OF WORLD POWER. By John E. Kieffer. New York: David McKay Co., 1952. xiii + 336 p.

The concept of "Geopolitics" appears to be quite objectionable to most Americans, since

it seems to be another expression of General Haushofer's grandiose plans of the *Geopolitik* promoted by Hitler. Yet, several studies have shown in recent years that the whole history of the United States can be interpreted within the framework of "geopolitics" (a modification of "political geography"), if we consider the implications of such steps as the acquisition of Louisiana; the expulsion of Napoleon's troops from Mexico; the Monroe Doctrine; the "Open Door" policy in China; the expansion of the United States into the Caribbean; the participation of the United States in both World Wars in order to prevent a single, hostile power from dominating the Eurasian Axis; the Truman Doctrine as applied to Greece and Turkey; and the steps taken in Korea, Southeast Asia and Western Europe in order to prevent the Soviet axis from completing the domination of the Eurasian Axis. While the name of Admiral Mahan somehow stands high on the list of the "approved" theoreticians of geopolitics, the more recent contemporary theoreticians of this field, such as the late Nicholas J. Spykman and George T. Renner were brutally abused for their ideas during World War II as not being "idealistic" enough. Only the sensational sales of G. Etzel Percy's and Russell H. Fifield's *World Political Geography* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1948) seem to indicate that the value of "geopolitics" cannot be too easily disposed of or disregarded.

It is to his credit that Kieffer has written the first book in America popularizing this field from a total viewpoint. His introductory chapters explain what Geopolitics is—and why—the fundamental factors, its development and perversion. Then he proceeds to analyze the core of geopolitics—power. Most of the rest of the book surveys the regional problems of the globe.

The work is not without its glaring weaknesses. Often the discussion is rather diffuse and appears unable to focus the attention to some specific, pin-point areas. There are only 7 maps, although they are well done. Little is said about the implications of such artificial divisions as "the Iron Curtain," which, artificial though they are, have their geopolitical aspects. The bibliography (pp. 335-336) is good, but hardly satisfactory. And, above all, there is no index.

Yet, in spite of these weaknesses, his is a volume which is a "must" for all the instructors in international relations, modern world history, and current events. Kieffer, furthermore, has earned the thanks of all of those who have seen a definite value in "geopolitics," but have been

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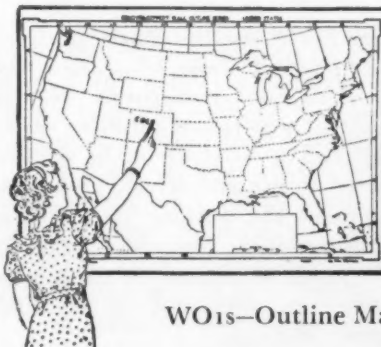
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JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

University of Bridgeport

MAN AND HIS YEARS: An Account of the First National Conference on Aging. Raleigh, North Carolina: Health Publications Institute, 1951. 308 p. \$3.25.

Man and His Years should interest social studies teachers, especially those who teach the problems course. This book constitutes the first inclusive treatment of a national problem of increasing importance. The sub-title of the volume indicates its general nature and scope. Two prefatory chapters explain the purpose of the Conference and its organization. The rest of the volume consists of a series of reports on the discussions at the Conference, sponsored by the Federal Security Agency in 1951.

During the present century the proportion of aged (65 and over) in the population of the United States has increased twice as fast as the entire population. The aged require help in remaining usefully employed. Other means are required also to provide adequate income for the aged. Much can be done to prevent premature

disability; and a community can organize to care for the disabled. Older persons need opportunities for education; younger persons require an education that will help them both to prepare for old age and to help solve the national problem of the aged. Family life and housing of the aged require special consideration. Provision for creative and recreational activities for the aged are a necessity. Religious institutions may aid by meeting spiritual and other needs of the aged. Personnel professionally trained for service to older people are needed. Considerable research has been done on some diseases of the aged; much remains to be done. The psychological and sociological aspects of aging have scarcely been touched by research. Each local community should organize its resources to help the aged to help both themselves and the community. Present activities and likely future developments in solving the problems of the aged are summarized in a final chapter.

In format and style the book is satisfactory. It is well organized and indexed. The names of persons who planned and attended each section meeting are listed at the end of each chapter.

JONATHON C. McLENDON

Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

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THE UNIVERSITY TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Edited by Geoffrey L. Goodwin. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. 126 p. \$2.25.

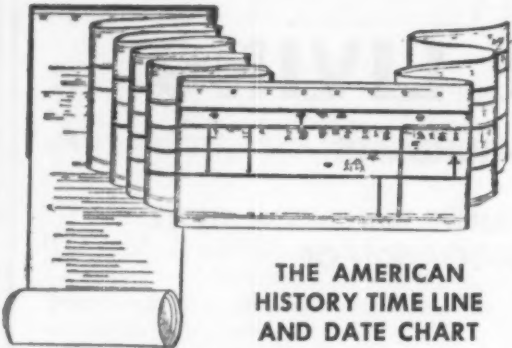
UNIVERSITIES AND WORLD AFFAIRS. By Howard E. Wilson. New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1951. 88 p. \$1.00.

College and university professors and officials throughout the world are wrestling today with the problems of preparing students adequately in the broad field of world affairs. They are concerned with such complex questions as the place of international relations in general and technical education, the care of students from abroad, the rivalry between the various social sciences for the inclusion of courses in their departments, the importance of area studies and other interdisciplinary approaches, and a host of applied topics. To such persons these two small books should bring considerable stimulation and quite a number of practical suggestions.

The volume on *The University Teaching of International Relations* is a product of the International Studies Conference and is concerned primarily with two questions. Part I is devoted to a report of a conference in England in 1950, attended by the representatives of several na-

tions, at which the question of international relations as an independent discipline was thoroughly discussed. Part II is concerned with the teaching of international relations in France, Italy, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Many readers in the United States will find themselves in disagreement with some of the pleas for international relations as an independent rather than an interdependent discipline, but they should find the arguments set forth provocative. A study of Part II should be a liberal education in the current thinking of their "opposite numbers" in Europe on the organization of courses in various universities.

The book on *Universities and World Affairs* is the outgrowth of an exploratory survey by the American Council on Education and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace of ends and means in preparing college students in the field of international relations. Part I examines very briefly the role of universities in promoting education on world affairs. Part II reports on the exploration by eight universities of their programs in the various phases of education on world affairs. Part III is a Check-List of 99 questions, arranged in ten main divisions, which served as a basis for self-evaluation by the



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co-operating colleges and universities.

The questionnaire in Part III is probably the most unique contribution of this book since it can serve as an evaluation device for any college or university in this country. It parallels in many respects a similar Check List for schools and teachers colleges presented in the reviewer's recent volume on *World Horizons for Teachers*. Simple yet comprehensive devices are therefore available now for any educational institution which is concerned enough about its program in world affairs to undertake a serious study of its total offerings.

Other commendable features of this book on *Universities and World Affairs* are its emphasis upon inter-disciplinary approaches, its stress on the responsibility of colleges for education of the general public, its accent on the importance of "freedom to learn and to teach," and its affirmation of the role of extra-curricular activities in any program on world affairs.

One of the best features of this book is its brevity, but it is hoped that this is only an "exploratory" study and that further reports of a

more comprehensive nature will be forthcoming.

LEONARD S. KENWORTHY

Brooklyn College
Brooklyn, N.Y.

RUSSIA: A HISTORY. By Sidney Harcave. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1952. xiii + 665 p. \$5.00.

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more comprehensive nature will be forthcoming.

LEONARD S. KENWORTHY

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